

"GENIUS HAS NO SEX"
THE SCULPTURE
OF MARCELLO (1836-1879)
CATERINA Y. PIERRE

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	IX
Introduction	1
Chapter One: Becoming Marcello: Family History and Brief Biography of Adèle d’Affry, Duchess Castiglione Colonna, 1836-1879	18
Chapter Two: Marcello’s Portraits of Family, Friends, and Contemporaries	63
Chapter Three: The Female as Hero in Marcello’s Mature Work, 1863 – 1876	100
Chapter Four: Sculpture and the Sounds of Silence: Marcello and Music	180
Conclusion	224
Bibliography	232
Index	232

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INTRODUCTION

Throughout her career, the Swiss-born artist Marcello (1836-1879, née Adèle d'Affry, later the Duchess Castiglione Colonna) received high praise for her sculptures. In the late summer of 1863 *Amédée Cantaloube*, a critic for the journal *L'Illustrateur des dames*, *Journal des soirées de famille*, admired a marble bust in that year's Paris Salon sculpted by this artist. Here, in one of the earliest descriptions of the artist, Cantaloube placed Marcello among the masters of the Renaissance:

Imagine a woman of exquisite distinction; a patrician of high rank; blond as the Venetians of Veronese; a noble and expressive physiognomy; meanwhile animated by the graces of her sex and by the fire of intellectual life; with delicate fingers more talented than those which usually ornate the most fine embroideries with fine materials, daring to knead and soften clay, to carve in marble the type of historical character superbly interpreted. Imagine, I say, what one could believe to be a fantasy, a capricious dream of the imagination, existing with a palpable attraction of a happy reality, and you will hardly have an idea of Marcello, the sculptor who had her debut using this pseudonym with so much success at the latest salon with a creation that masters would not deny.¹

Although her gender was almost always brought into their discussions, critics nonetheless gave Marcello's work serious consideration. During her career, which spanned only sixteen years, her sculptures were admired by the most prominent critics of the period. She was best known in Paris, where she kept a studio during the 1860s and 1870s. Without doubt, she was one of the most outstanding and successful artists in Paris during the Second Empire and the beginning of the Third Republic.

Marcello was well known during her career and her biography was entered into the 1869 edition of Pierre Larousse's *Grand Dictionnaire universel*; the entry was published only six years after her first exhibition at the Paris Salon and ten years before her death.

1. A[médée] Cantaloube, "Chronique artistique et littéraire, buste de Bianca Capello par Marcello," *L'Illustrateur des dames*, *Journal des soirées de famille* (30 August 1863): 510. "Figurez-vous une femme d'une distinction exquise; une patricienne de haute race, blonde comme les Vénitiennes de Véronèse; une physionomie noble et expressive, animée en même temps des grâces de son sexe et du feu de la vie intellectuelle; des doigts délicats et plus déliés que ceux qui ornent d'ordinaire de fins tissus les broderies les plus légères, osant pétrir et assouplir l'argile, puis tailler dans le marbre le type d'un personnage historique superbement interprété; figurez-vous, dis-je, ce qu'on pourrait croire une chimère, un rêve capricieux de l'imagination, existant avec l'attrait palpable d'une souriante réalité, et vous aurez à peine une idée de Marcello, le statuaire qui a débuté sous ce pseudonyme avec tant de succès au dernier salon par une création que les maîtres ne désavoueraient pas."

Although utilizing terminology typical in descriptions of women artists during the period (reminding the audience of the “frailty” and “weaknesses” of women), Larousse’s inclusion of Marcello in the *dictionnaire* still added to her renown in Paris and elsewhere:

Miss d’Affry had the rare happiness of not finding in her aristocratic family too lively an opposition towards her artistic instincts, and she could surrender peacefully to the study of great art that she admired, far from the noise of the world and in the silence of a studio. Patient and courageous, the future princess [sic] braved the disgust and the fatigues of this rough apprenticeship. A frail and elegant young woman, she had the admirable bravery to handle skillfully the steel chisel and even more so to knead plaster and clay with her hands. This courageous work had good results, and the young sculptor could soon show some busts proudly modeled, which gave a surprise to many a master. Sculpture, in effect, distances itself from so many weaknesses in the nature of women, it demands so much real virility, that we could not, without astonishment, observe in a woman the robust faculties that she supports. It was necessary nevertheless to give in to the evidence, and the talent of Miss d’Affry was seriously applauded and encouraged. [...] Without fear of being denied by the future, we can announce that this young sculptor will have many more brilliant successes.²

2. Pierre Larousse, *Grand Dictionnaire universel du XIX^e siècle*, Vol. IV (Paris: Administration du grand dictionnaire universel, 1869): 653. “Mlle d’Affry eut le rare bonheur de ne pas trouver dans son aristocratique famille une opposition trop vive à ses instincts d’artiste, et elle put se livrer paisiblement à l’étude du grand art qu’elle aimait, loin du bruit du monde et dans le silence d’un atelier. Patient et courageuse, la future princesse [sic] bravait les dégoûts et les fatigues de ce rude apprentissage. Frêle et élégante jeune fille, elle eut l’admirable bravoure de manier le ciseau d’acier, et plus encore de pétrir de ses mains le plâtre et la terre glaise. Ce courageux travail eut de bons résultats, et le jeune statuaire put montrer bientôt des bustes fièrement modelés, qui firent la surprise de plus d’un maître. La sculpture, en effet, s’éloigne tellement des faiblesses de la nature des femmes, elle exige tant de virilité réelle, qu’on ne saurait, sans étonnement, observer dans une femme les facultés robustes qu’elle suppose. Il fallait pourtant se rendre à l’évidence, et le talent de Mlle d’Affry fut sérieusement applaudi et encouragé. [...] Sans crainte d’être démenti par l’avenir, nous pouvons annoncer à ce jeune statuaire des succès plus brillants encore.”

The final line of this entry in the *Dictionnaire* turned out to be, for the last one hundred and thirty-five years at least, wishful thinking. After her death, the memory of Marcello and her work began its descent into oblivion. In France, little was written about her after she succumbed to tuberculosis while convalescing in Italy in 1879. Much of the posthumous literature pertaining to the artist during the last two decades of the nineteenth century was published in Switzerland, and concerned, for the most part, the Musée Marcello, a now defunct museum that the artist planned during her final years. By the late twentieth century, one was hard pressed to find valid information on the artist. Only a single exhibition catalogue, published at the one-hundredth anniversary of her death, exists, and it was, on the whole, limited in scope. By the early twenty-first century, Marcello was forgotten even in Fribourg, the town of her birth, where most residents could direct a person to the Rue Marcello but could not explain who its namesake was. How could such an artist, so relevant to Swiss history, women’s history, and art history in general, be forgotten so quickly and so succinctly?

The objective of this book is to return Marcello to her rightful place in the history of art, primarily through an exploration of her contributions to later artistic movements and styles such as Symbolism and Art Nouveau. As one of the foremost sculptors of the period, Marcello also helped to break down many barriers posed by the profession against women artists. Her sculptures are significant and vital to gender studies as well as art history, in that many of them represent heroic, famous women from history, mythology and her contemporary circle who lived powerful, independent lives. Rarely do we find a female point of view in European sculpture; yet throughout her career, Marcello would sculpt and exhibit such women with heroic qualities as, for example, *Diana* (1862, red wax, Fondation Marcello, Fribourg, hereafter FM), *Bianca Capello* (1863, bronze, FM), *the Gorgone* (1865, bronze, Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington), *Ananké*, the goddess of destiny (1867, marble, Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg, hereafter MAHF), *Hecate and Cerberus*, powerful goddess of the underworld (1867, marble, Grammont Municipal Park, Montpellier), *The Empress Eugénie* (1867, marble, Musée de Lyon) and, what would certainly become her most celebrated sculpture, *the Pythia* (1870, bronze, Opéra Garnier, Paris).³

In addition to her choice of subject matter, many of Marcello's works incorporate various motifs which would later become associated with Symbolism and Art Nouveau such as the sinuous line (e.g. *Pythia*, but also as seen in her tombstone which she designed the year before her death, now at her gravesite in Givisiez, marble, 1878), flower and animal metamorphoses (e.g. *Pythia* and *The Gorgon*, but also *Phoebe*, 1875, marble, MAHF), polychromy and mixed media, (e.g. *The Abyssinian Chieftain*, 1870, bronze, FM) and her exploration of such themes as androgyny, decadence, legends, mysticism, mythology, religion, sexuality, and *femme fatale* subject matter.

Although this book will be primarily a socio-biography, informed by women's history, gender studies and socio-political history, it will also include discussions of nineteenth-century sculptural practice and the status of sculpture within contemporary art criticism (particularly insofar as it was "gendered" and "male".) Finally, this book will be the first major study of Marcello's sculpture within a critical, social, and art historical context.

Marcello's painting, which makes up a large portion of her artistic production, particularly in her final years, will not be treated in this book. Although many of her can-

3. Many of Marcello's sculptures exist in multiple editions and various media. For example, *Bianca Capello* exists in at least sixteen known versions, with at least eight in marble, four in polychromed bronze, and four in plaster. Related terracotta and wax maquettes also exist for many of the works.

vases are interesting in light of pre-Impressionist painting and (in some cases) Orientalist themes, they have less of a critical history because they were rarely exhibited. In general her paintings were not well received when exhibited, in part because nineteenth-century critics were often unkind to artists who alternated between two media. Her most important painted project, the canvases for her Symbolist-styled *Salon Chinois* in her home at the Château d'Affry in Fribourg, Switzerland, and completed after her death by her cousin, Elisa de Boccard (1847-1925), has already been treated by Cristina Ferreyros in her Master's Thesis for Antioch University, entitled "The Conservation of Three 'Chinoiserie' Decorative Paintings by Marcello" (1981).

Additionally, this book is not meant to be a *catalogue raisonné* of Marcello's sculptural works. Although certainly such a reasoned catalogue is necessary and desirable, it seemed to be an irrational project at a time when there exists no preliminary study of the artist's life in print. Instead, one finds presented here the best examples of Marcello's work, which illustrate her most important contributions to the history of art. The importance of these works is judged not on my personal preference, but on their relevance to Marcello's contemporary critics and on their significance to what was to follow historically. A conscious effort to place the artist and her work in a social and art historical context, which has been overlooked by other Marcello scholars, has been attempted here.

A very well-connected figure, Marcello had an enormous circle of friends and acquaintances including visual artists such as Antoine-Louis Barye, Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux, Gustave Courbet, Berthe Morisot, composers such as Charles François Gounod, Franz Liszt, Gioachino Rossini, and government officials such as the Emperor Napoleon III, Empress Eugénie, and Adolphe Thiers (the latter a French statesman, historian and first president of the Third Republic). Privately trained in Rome by the Uri-born, Swiss sculptor Heinrich Maximilian Imhof (1795-1869; a student of Bertel Thorvaldsen), she later gained the title Duchess Castiglione Colonna at the age of nineteen through her marriage to Don Carlo Colonna, Duke of Castiglione-Altibranti. After his premature death eight months later (of typhoid fever, which he contracted while they were on their honeymoon), she was left free to continue her career as a sculptor without the pressures of married life.

Marcello was also internationally known. She retained studios in Paris, Rome, and Givisiez (Switzerland) for most of her career, and in 1863 took the pseudonym Marcello,

borrowed from the eighteenth-century Italian composer Benedetto Marcello (1686-1739), so that the juries of the Paris Salon exhibitions would concentrate on her submissions and not her gender. Along with the successful exhibition of her sculpture in seven of the thirteen Paris Salon exhibitions held between 1863 and 1876, she also showed at other venues, including the Royal Academy, London (in 1865, 1866 and 1867), and at the Universal Exhibitions in Paris (1867), Munich (1869) and Vienna (1873). Tragically she died of tuberculosis in 1879 at the age of forty-three. Because of her long suffering from her illness and premature death, her sculptural *œuvre* consists of fewer than one hundred original concepts for production in sculptures of various media.

There are currently no available texts on Marcello in print, and most of the existing literature has been written in French and has not been translated. The most recent book-length study, by a family relation, Ghislain de Diesbach, *La Double Vie de Duchesse Colonna: la chimère bleue* (1988) is an anecdotal and romantic biography that does not discuss the important feminist issues implicit in Marcello's work. Henriette Bessis, the first person outside of the family to study Marcello, published only one major text on the artist in the last two decades, an exhibition catalogue for the Musée d'art et d'histoire in Fribourg entitled *Marcello: Sculpteur* (1980). Bessis's text, which has become the basis for all work on Marcello to date, was an important first step in the study of this artist. It is, however, based strictly on connoisseurship; the author does not discuss the difficult circumstances under which most women artists (particularly women sculptors) worked at the time. A major theme of Marcello's sculpture is her depiction of women as heroic figures; this is not discussed in either Diesbach's or Bessis's texts. The Musée d'art et d'histoire de Fribourg published a brief brochure, *Marcello*, in conjunction with a smaller section of the exhibition which traveled (in 1980) to the Musée Rodin in Paris and included a very short essay by Fribourg's senior curator, Michel Terrapon.

With the exception of Bessis, most Marcello scholars have been relatives of the artist: Monique von Wistinghausen, who wrote a very brief (five page) essay entitled "Marcello, esquisse socio-historique" in *Marcello*; the Countess Odette d'Alcantara, author of various short articles published in *La Liberté* (1955-56, 1959) and her posthumous text *Marcello* (1961); and Hélène de Diesbach, who penned "Marcello, la duchesse Colonna, née d'Affry" in *La Femme suisse, un livre de famille* (1910) were all related to the artist. Although these texts – all by authors with family ties to the sculp-

tor – are variously problematic (too biographical, lacking art-historical context, lacking feminist consideration, etc.), they remain the principal secondary sources of information on Marcello to date.

The only American art historian to ever seriously consider Marcello was the late Horst Woldemar Janson (1913-1982), who examined her sculpture in many of his publications including *Nineteenth-Century Art* (posthumous, with Robert Rosenblum, 1984), *Nineteenth-Century Sculpture* (also published posthumously, 1985), his article “Realism in Sculpture: Limits and Limitations” (in Gabriel Weisberg’s *The European Realist Tradition*, 1982), and in the exhibition he co-curated with Peter Fusco, *Romantics to Rodin: French Nineteenth-Century Sculpture* (1980). Janson’s writings on Marcello, although generally consisting of very brief entries of a strictly biographical nature, were the first to introduce this sculptor to an American (or at least to an English-reading) public. This is interesting in light of the fact that feminist scholars had famously criticized Janson in the 1970s for not including women artists in his original and second editions of *History of Art* (1962, 1969). Although Janson was by no means an advocate of women’s artistic production, it should be noted that he had included Marcello’s work in a number of his later projects, while feminist art historians had ignored her completely.

Although the secondary source literature on Marcello is limited, a plentitude of primary source material exists that gives substance to her sculptural *œuvre*. By organizing this study around contemporary criticism and her own writings and collection of personal letters, Marcello’s art and its significance to later artistic developments are more clearly illustrated.

My personal interest in Marcello began almost a decade ago, when I was preparing a Master’s Thesis for the City University of New York at Hunter College, under the direction of Dr. Jane Mayo Roos. This thesis, entitled “Unjustly Neglected: Gustave Courbet in the 1870s,” (1996) concerned the late career of the French Realist painter and sculptor Gustave Courbet (1819-1877). I was particularly concerned with Courbet’s sculptural *oeuvre* and with his final years spent on the Swiss *Riviera vaudoise* in the town of La-Tour-de-Peilz. It was at this time that letters passed between Courbet and Marcello, who were fond of each other’s art.

Courbet and Marcello were good friends, as can be deduced from letters between

them. An important letter from Courbet to Marcello, sent after she and her cousin, Olga, the Marquise de Tallenay, had visited him in La-Tour-de-Peilz in 1874, had been translated and published by Petra ten-Doesschate Chu in her *Letters of Gustave Courbet* (1992), giving me a starting point for my work on Marcello.⁴ Other letters also existed, suggesting that Courbet owed his easy passage into Switzerland to Marcello's political and professional influence in Italy and Switzerland as the Duchess Colonna and as a member of an illustrious Swiss aristocratic family. By some accounts, the two artists may have met by 1869, and he painted her portrait some time after 1869 (now in the collection of the Musée des beaux-arts, Reims).

Later, during Courbet's political troubles and at a time when many of his friends shunned him, Marcello refused to abandon him. He later wrote to the Marquise de Tallenay, expressing that "I will always be grateful to Madame Colonna, persuaded as I am that she looked after me in prison."⁵ It is known that Marcello invited both Courbet and Henri Regnault (1843-1871) to Switzerland during the Franco-Prussian War in an effort to provide them with a safe haven; they had both refused. Sadly, had Regnault accepted, it may have saved his life.⁶ Thus it is not farfetched to assume that the Duchess's assistance played a role in Courbet's choice of Switzerland as his place of exile, nor is it hard to believe that her influence with her long-time friend Adolphe Thiers (1797-1877), probably saved Courbet from a prolonged stay in prison or even execution for his role in the Commune.

There were also works of art that connected these two artists. Marcello had not only sat for a portrait by Courbet, but she owned works by him, including his *Landscape* (*Paysage*) of 1870, which was later exhibited as part of the Musée Marcello (today the work is part of the permanent collection of the Musée d'art et d'histoire in Fribourg). Another work, a sculpture entitled *Portrait of the Marquise de Tallenay* and once thought to be Courbet's best experiment in sculpture (fig. I-2, c. 1874, Musée d'Orsay, Paris), is now attributed by the Musée d'Orsay to Marcello. In 1973, Courbet specialist Jack Lindsay called this plaster mask "the best work of sculpture that [Courbet] did, and which shows that if he had worked hard at this medium he would have gone far in it." The work was given to the Musée du Louvre in 1916 by a relative of Courbet, but was rarely exhibited. Although the question of authenticity is not so easy to solve, the reattribution of the *Portrait of the Marquise de Tallenay* is based on its similarity to a work unquestionably created by Marcello and found today at the Fondation Marcello in Fri-

4. Letter from Gustave Courbet to Adèle Colonna (Marcello), dated 24 January 1872, in Petra ten-Doesschate Chu, *Letters of Gustave Courbet* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 539-40.

5. Letter from Gustave Courbet to Olga de Tallenay, dated 28 November 1874, in Chu, 539-40.

6. Regnault's refusal of the invitation is found in a letter from him to Adèle Colonna (Marcello), dated "ce Mercredi soir [1870]," Archives Fondation Marcello (hereafter Archives FM). In this letter, his last to Marcello, he wrote "Chère Mietta... Je vous remercie de votre offre gracieuse d'hospitalité, mais je ne crois malheureusement pas pouvoir en profiter, obligé que je suis de défendre Paris, et décide à ne pas quitter la France tant qu'un Suisse en y sera vivant... Mille et mille tendresses. Je voudrais dire, à bientôt! Mais j'ai peur que ce soit encore une fanfaronnade. Tout à vous, Riquet." The suggestion that Courbet was offered the same invitation is found in Henriette Bes-sis, "Marcello à Paris," *Marcello: Adèle d'Affry, duchesse Castiglione Colonna* (Paris: Musée Rodin, 1980-1981), 11. Bes-sis does not provide her original source for this.



Fig. I-1.
 Marcello. *Head of a Woman (Tête de femme)*. Circa
 1874. Plaster. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.

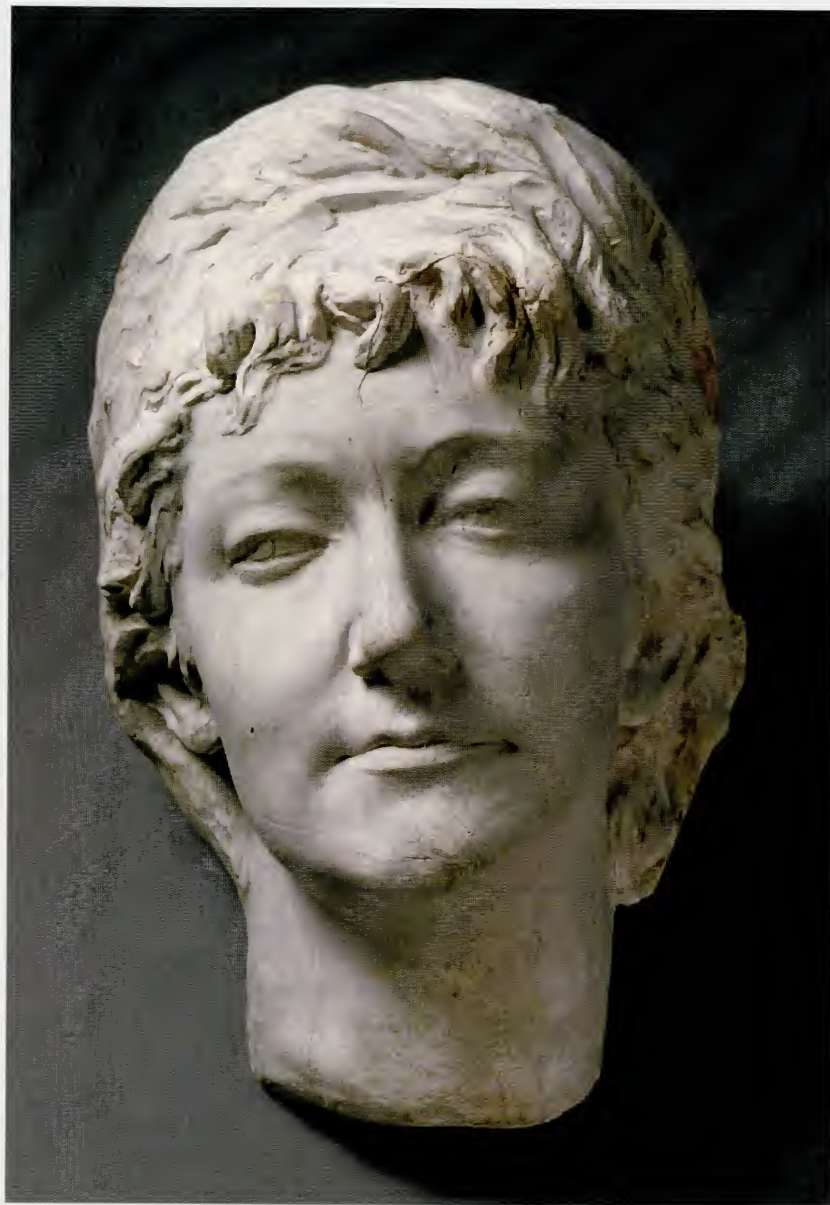


Fig. I-2.
 Marcello (formerly attributed to Gustave Courbet).
Portrait of the Marquise de Tallenay. Circa 1874.
 Plaster. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. Photo: Réunion des
 Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, NY.

bourg. The work, also a plaster mask known as *Head of a Woman* (Tête de femme, fig. I-1, c.1874, FM), shares many physical qualities with the *Portrait of the Marquise de Tallenay*, including a similar layering of the hair on the forehead, the direction of the incised eyes, the set of the head on the neck, and the placid facial expression. With these few letters between the two artists and the artworks that connected them, I began, in 1996, to plan a future project on Marcello, which has resulted in this book.

CHAPTER SYNOPSES

The book is divided into four chapters. Chapter One explores Marcello's life in her own words, and is based on her writings and her unpublished memoirs. A short biography of Marcello's life is presented in Chapter Two so that the thematic chapters that follow need not be strictly chronological. This chapter also analyses the artist's choice of her pseudonym. To date, there is no scholarly study of pseudonym usage by artists from a professional and psychological point of view; this chapter tries to lay some groundwork for the exploration of the pseudonyms of visual artists. I attempt to analyze Marcello's choice of the name and the culture and context in which she worked that made it necessary to employ it throughout her career. The male-dominated sculptural system made the name necessary, and the artist's own personal views about acceptance within the official system made it imperative. The fact that she kept the name long after her true identity was revealed is a testament to Marcello's desire to be taken seriously, that is to say, as if she were a man.

Within this chapter, the illustrious history of her family is also discussed. Marcello was inspired by the high social and military positions held by her ancestors, and by their fearlessness in the face of great danger. One of these ancestors died while working as a Swiss Guard in the service of Marie-Antoinette and Louis XVI during the French Revolution. Although Marcello left her memoirs unfinished at the time of her death, her final years are also recounted in this chapter, based on her memoirs, her last will and testament, published obituaries, and letters to her family and friends.

In an attempt to show Marcello as an emerging artist, a short chapter on Marcello's experiments with portraiture is included as Chapter Two. The portraits add another dimension to her biography, and are representative of her wide social circle, as she usually made portraits, without a commission, of friends from high society and the world of

politics. Also discussed in depth is Marcello's only commission for an imperial portrait, that of the Empress Eugénie. It would be unfair to include only the positive reviews of Marcello's work, and so the eventual refusal of Eugénie's portrait is included in this discussion. Although most critics who chose to write about her admired Marcello's work and persistence, her inability to earn a Salon medal until her last exhibition there in 1876 – and her own personal feelings of failure at the hands of an all-male art system – are additionally explored.

The purpose here is also to lead the reader from the inner, personal life of the artist as formulated in Chapter One to her life in the outer, public world as discussed in Chapter Two. Through the discussion of the portraits, Marcello's life becomes multifaceted; I will show not only the influence of others on her development but also her influence over them as well.

Marcello's exploration into the possibility of the female as a heroic figure is the subject of Chapter Three. Undeniably, she was most interested in producing images of powerful women with strong and often valiant characteristics; these sculptures are the most outstanding in her *œuvre*. Her treatment of the specific themes now considered Symbolist actually anticipated the later Symbolist movement. Included here are numerous contemporary critiques of the artist's most significant works, many of which have never been treated or translated in previous studies on this artist. The strong focus on critical reviews in this chapter serves to substantiate the validity and importance of her work in her own time. Additionally, Marcello's lifelong study of the works of Michelangelo and her attempts to bridge the grand manner of Renaissance sculpture with the nascent modernism of later nineteenth-century sculpture will be treated.

In Chapter Four, Marcello's interest in music and her sculptures based on characters from contemporary operas and portraits of musical figures are surveyed. The discussion of Marcello as a forerunner to Symbolism is continued, as music and the related fields of mathematics and science were to become as important to that movement as the gender-related themes discussed in Chapter Three. Historical, linguistic, and scientific connections between visual art and music during the second half of the nineteenth century play an important role in understanding why she was interested in music and how she used it as point of reference for her work. Marcello's polysensoriality, or the ways in which she conceived of her works through her sensory reception of the world

around her (mainly through sight, sound and touch) is analyzed here. As with the previous chapters, this section is heavily dependent upon primary sources such as critical reviews, letters to and from the artist, and her own writings.

These two subsequent thematic chapters (Three and Four) analyze Marcello's exploration of heroic and musical subjects respectively. Her role in the development of ideas and themes which would later be considered Symbolist was significant, yet never before has it been evaluated. As noted in these two chapters, Marcello explored the spirituality of heroism, redemption, and higher states of being in many of her sculptures; these very ideas became central to the goals of later Symbolist artists. The archival documents in these two chapters show that the origins of Symbolism cannot be discussed without including an evaluation of Marcello's sculptural *œuvre*. As musical subjects and operatic characters influenced the Symbolists, so too had they played a large role in her artistic production years earlier. Similarly, Marcello's treatment of heroic and powerful women, imbued with the spirit of defiance, pride and virility, full of honorable and admirable qualities not often permitted in images of women, predated the works of the Symbolists by more than twenty years. Her unconventional images of women, in light of early Symbolist themes, are some of Marcello's most significant contributions to art history and visual culture.

Throughout the book are numerous illustrations, most of which have not been heretofore presented. Finally, this text includes the most complete bibliography of primary and secondary sources concerning Marcello and her *œuvre* to date, including viable Internet resources.

I have tried to balance the study of Marcello as a sculptor and as a woman artist who faced particular difficulties in the field in which she worked. Linda Nochlin's 1971 text "Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?" warned against digging up women artists only for the sake of adding more of them to the art historical canon.⁸ Nochlin was, on the one hand, correct in noting, thirty-nine years ago, that no one had previously questioned the obstacles that women artists had faced, save for Virginia Woolf in her essay "A Room of One's Own," written in 1929. However, it will be proven throughout this study that the offense Nochlin warned against has not been committed here. First of all, Marcello was by no means mediocre, nor did she have a modest career; she was considered by contemporary critics to be among the masters of her epoch. Addi-

8. Linda Nochlin, "Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?" in *Women Art, and Power and Other Essays* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1991), 145-78. The essay was originally published in *Art News* in 1971. On pages 147-8 of the 1991 reprint, Nochlin notes that "The feminist's first reaction [to the question posed] is to swallow the bait, hook, line, and sinker, and to attempt to answer the question as it is put: that is, to dig up examples of worthy or insufficiently appreciated women artists throughout history; to rehabilitate rather modest, if interesting and productive careers; to 'rediscover' forgotten flower painters or David followers and make out a case for them; [...] Such attempts [...] are certainly worth the effort, both in adding to our knowledge of women's achievement and of art history generally. But they do nothing to question the assumption lying behind the question 'Why have there been no great women artists?'" On the contrary, by attempting to answer it, they tacitly reinforce its negative implications."



Fig. 1-3. L. Dumont. *La Duchesse Colonna de Castiglione*. 1864. Engraving. From *L'Illustrateur des dames, journal des soirées de famille* (5 April 1864), 1.

tionally, Marcello need not have been dug up: critical reviews of her work appeared steadily throughout her career in the major European art journals and broadsides, such as *Art Journal* [London], *Le Charivari*, *Le Courrier artistique*, *Gazette des beaux-arts*, *Le Figaro*, *Le Moniteur des arts*, *Le Moniteur universel*, *Le Monde illustré*, and *Revue de Paris*, to name just a few. Her work continues to be visible, particularly in France and Switzerland, in a number of important public sites and permanent collections. Marcello was also a significant artist, regardless of gender, whose art was of major importance to the critics of her time and who made valuable, lasting contributions to the field of nineteenth-century sculpture. How someone so instrumental to the European art world was forgotten, particularly by feminist art historians during the later half of the twentieth century, is especially shocking, and this point of contention was one of the initial catalysts for this project.

This book does not attempt to answer Nochlin's famous question of whether there were great women artists or, if so, whether Marcello can be placed among them. Greatness and genius are deeply philosophical concepts that are difficult to codify in studies of any artist, male or female, even today. The point of this text is not to decide whether Marcello was a great artist, but instead to point out her contributions to the history of art in general and the history of nineteenth-century sculpture specifically. Certainly gender-biased obstacles that she faced will be discussed in relation to how they affected her career; the artist's choice of a male pseudonym alone testifies to the fact that she herself felt that men dominated the art world, especially in the realm of sculpture production. However, it is only through the understanding and critical analysis of her artistic production (rather than by focusing exclusively on her gender) that we can truly judge Marcello's significance to the history of art.

A final word should be said with regard to the title of this book. It is familiar legend to art historians that when the Empress Eugénie of France bestowed the Légion d'honneur upon the painter Rosa Bonheur (1822-1899) in June of 1865, she was claimed to have said the words "Le génie n'a pas de sexe," or "genius has no sex." This phrase seems to have been borrowed by Eugénie from the writings of Madame de Staël (Anna-Maria-Louise Germaine Necker, 1766-1817). Later the phrase was used, by the press but also in common parlance, to describe any woman (often judged as a person outside the norm) who found success in the arts; it was used in this sense by the journal *Le Papillon* on 11 March 1883 for its cover article on the sculptor Hélène (known as Mme

Léon) Bertaux (1825-1909).⁹ Genius, as Nochlin established almost four decades ago, was always considered a male trait; women who possessed it were considered (if at all) to be outside the norm. Today, the phrase “genius has no sex” can be applied to women whose works prove that genius itself is not, and never was, gender specific, and that women, given the right opportunities, could excel and even surpass men in any field of study. It is in the latter sense that I have applied the phrase to Marcello within this text.¹⁰

Against all odds (her aristocratic background, the lack of educational opportunities for women sculptors, and her gender in and of itself), Marcello succeeded in producing significant works that were seriously evaluated by European critics and the art-viewing public. Her pseudonym was not a contradiction to the phrase “genius has no sex,” but was instead used, especially later in her career when her true identity was well known, as a way to thwart the common notion that genius was male.

Eight months after the appearance of Cantaloube’s first article on Marcello, a second was published in *L’Illustrateur des dames* on 3 April 1864, complete with an engraved portrait of the artist that ran on the front page (fig. I-3). After again praising her *Bianca Capello*, her very successful marble bust of the previous Salon, and mentioning her works in progress, Cantaloube presented a literary portrait of the artist herself:

*L’Illustrateur has not been the last to render homage to a young woman who has preferred to dominate in the art world rather than in the milieu of frivolous society. What more beautiful privilege than to be thus favored by nature and be able to unite all the exterior graces of the most eloquent gifts of a lively inspiration. So the critic cannot be taxed for an excess of enthusiasm when he passionately admires in this artist talent, beauty and virtue!*¹¹

What follows herein is an art historical portrait of one of the most significant sculptors working in Europe during the second half of the nineteenth century.

9. Fèo de Jouval, “Silhouette – Mme Léon Bertaux,” *Le Papillon* (11 March 1883): 1-2.

10. See Tamar Garb, *Sisters of the Brush: Women’s Artistic Culture in Late Nineteenth-Century Paris* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994), esp. Chapter Five (pages 105-52), “The Sex of Art: In Search of le génie féminin.”

11. A[médée] Cantaloube, “Les grandes dames de l’Europe, la duchesse Colonna de Castiglione,” *L’Illustrateur des dames, Journal des soirées de famille* (3 April 1864): 1 (front page). “L’Illustrateur n’a pas été le dernier à rendre hommage à une jeune femme qui a préféré dominer dans l’art que dans le milieu des sociétés frivoles. Quel plus beau privilège que d’être ainsi favorisée par la nature et de pouvoir unir aux grâces extérieures les dons les plus éloquents d’une vive inspiration. Aussi le critique ne peut être taxé d’un excès d’enthousiasme, quand il admire passionnément dans cette artiste, le talent, la beauté et la vertu!”



Fig. 1-1. Johann-Friedrich Dietler.
Portrait of Adèle d'Affry [at the age of
seventeen]. 1853. Watercolor.
Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.

CHAPTER ONE

BECOMING MARCELLO: FAMILY HISTORY AND BRIEF BIOGRAPHY OF ADÈLE D'AFFRY, DUCHESS CASTIGLIONE COLONNA, 1836-1879

"All the ideas of my youth had caught up me, and I did not forget, amidst the brilliance of the parties of Paris, the oath made at the foot of the oak tree, with the heavens and the birds in the trees as witnesses, to search for a social, useful, and fraternal purpose to my existence."

Marcello, *Memoirs*¹

Although it is unclear when she began, Marcello planned her memoirs and wrote ninety-five pages of text for it in longhand. Two supplementary pages written three days before Marcello's death, which were dictated by the artist and written in someone else's handwriting (probably that of her domestic François Butty), are also included in the portfolio containing the original manuscript. Left unfinished and unpublished, the manuscript is today conserved at the Fondation Marcello in Fribourg, Switzerland. Marcello had expressed in her testament the wish that her family try to find a publisher for the manuscript, but unfortunately this has not been accomplished to date.² The original manuscript text is one of the best primary sources for Marcello's early life and career; it covers, in her own words, her early travels, education, marriage, widowhood and first artistic successes in Paris, and details her great admiration for her male ancestors, most of whom held important military positions in France and Switzerland. The text ends, somewhat abruptly, after an account of her life in Paris during the early 1860s.

In her preface to her memoirs, Marcello stated her desire to be remembered for her artistic contributions. She considered her sculptures as substitutes for the children she never had, in numerous examples of her writing, and continued in this vein in her preface:

*It is possible that in the future my nephews, and some others who are members of my intellectual family, will stop to think in front of a marble by Marcello, and will ask themselves who was this artist whom they admire, and how did she live her life. These pages are addressed to them, they will speak when eternal silence will have descended upon this woman who never knew the sweet pride of being a mother with happy children.*³

1. Adèle Colonna (Marcello), personal memoirs, unfinished and unpublished (known as *Mémoires d'Adèle d'Affry*), c. late 1870s, Archives Fondation Marcello, Fribourg, Switzerland (hereafter Archives FM), "Paris, 2 bis," [pagination on original manuscript], 40 [typewritten copy]. "Toutes les idées de ma jeunesse m'avaient reprise, et je n'oubliais pas, sous les lustres des fêtes de Paris, le serment fait au pied des chênes, avec le ciel et les oiseaux du bois pour témoins, de chercher un but social, utile, fraternel à mon existence." All translations are my own unless otherwise noted.

2. Testament of Madame la duchesse de Castiglione-Colonna née d'Affry, 28 November 1877. The original copy of the testament is deposited at the Archives de l'Etat de Fribourg (hereafter AEF), RN 6055, documents 417-422. "Je charge mon beau frère de publier à Paris, chez [illegible, possibly Calmann-Lévy] si possible, aux frais de ma succession, l'écrit de ma main intitulé *Mémoires*, sans y faire aucune changement, ceci est ma volonté expresse."

3. Adèle Colonna (Marcello), *Mémoires*, Préface. "Il est possible que dans l'avenir mes neveux, et quelques passants qui appartiendraient à ma famille intellectuelle, s'arrêtent pensifs devant un marbre de Marcello, et se demandent quel fut cet artiste, ce qu'il aimait, et comment s'écoula sa vie. À ceux-ci répondront ces pages, elles parleront quand l'éternel silence se sera étendu sur cette femme qui ne connut pas le doux orgueil de se voir mère de joyeux enfants." The preface is found as an unpaginated sheet marked "Préface" at the beginning of the original manuscript folio. It is not recorded in the typewritten copy of the manuscript, but a facsimile of this page was reproduced in Odette d'Alcantara, *Marcello, Adèle d'Affry, Duchesse Castiglione-Colonna 1836-1879, sa vie, son œuvre, sa pensée et ses amis* (Geneva: Éditions Générales, 1961), 25. 4.



Comte Louis d'Affry à Paris avant de partir 1844

Fig. 1-2. Dietler. Portrait of the Count Louis d'Affry [Posthumous]. 1841. Watercolor. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.



Fig. 1-3. Ferret. Countess Lucie d'Affry. Not dated. Photograph. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.



Fig. 1-4. Ch[arles] Robert. Postcard with Crest for the Village of Avry-sur-Matran. Not dated. Lithographic postcard, number 31 in a series of 40. Collection of the author.



Fig. 1-5. Church of Saint Laurent, Parish of Givisiez and Granges-Paccot. Fribourg, Switzerland. Photograph by the author.

Continuing further down in the short preface, Marcello assures future readers that they shall find what they seek about the artist if they search deeply and seriously, as “man speaks to his descendants through a language only heard by those who search for the life and the spirit of the artist, beyond exterior surfaces, to see who they really were. Thus I would like this book to speak of me one day, to those who love me and to those whom I have loved.”⁴

FAMILY HISTORY

Adèle d’Affry⁵ was born Adelaïde-Nathalie-Marie-Hedwige-Philippine d’Affry (called Adèle, fig. 1-1) on 6 July 1836, the first child of Count Louis-François-Romain-Charles d’Affry (fig. 1-2, 1810-1841) and the Countess Marie-Louise-Anne-Julie-Lucie de Maillardoz (fig. 1-3, 1816-1897), at 58, Grand-Rue in Fribourg, Switzerland where the ancestral house of the Affry family is located.⁶ Her illustrious and historically important family on both her paternal and maternal sides made a great impression on Adèle d’Affry throughout her life. She devoted a large portion of the beginning of her memoirs to a discussion of the military history of her ancestors. Her male ancestors included lieutenants, generals, high-ranking officers and *hommes de guerre*, diplomats, ambassadors, and Swiss Guards in the service of France. She was raised in the ancestral houses, living what she often termed in her *Mémoires* as “la vie rustique,” with stories of the greatness of her forebears who lived in these homes before her.

The surname “Affry” (originally d’Avry) fills three double-column pages of the *Historisch-Biographisches Lexicon der Schweiz*, an encyclopedia of Switzerland’s most significant historical and luminary figures.⁷ The earliest recorded member of the family was Aleyson Davrie (born circa 1190, alias de Awry), whose name stemmed from the commune where his family originated, Avry-sur-Matran (fig. 1-4).⁸ Only two of the Affrys mentioned in the 1921 edition of the *Historisch-Biographisches Lexicon* are women: Hélène d’Affry, an Abbess in Magereau, who died on 23 June 1548; and the sculptor Adèle d’Affry, whose biography finalizes the entry. Most other women in the family were born into the aristocracy.⁹ Affry’s relatives were also members of the oldest families in Fribourg, including those of Boccard, Diesbach, Praroman and Maillardoz, and her genealogy can be traced with assurance to the thirteenth century.¹⁰ The tomb of Abbot Pierre d’Affry, a cistercian monk who headed Hauterive monastery in the thirteenth century, dates to 1449, but the family was established in Fribourg as early as 1293. This is a very

4. Adèle Colonna (Marcello), *Mémoires*, Préface. “L’homme parle à ses descendants par un langage entendu seulement de ceux qui sous la figure extérieure des choses, recherchent la vie et l’esprit de celui qui les fit. Ainsi voudrais-je que ce livre parlât de moi un jour, à ceux qui m’aimeront, à ceux que j’aurai aimés.”

5. Published sources on Marcello’s life and work (although all are out of print) are Alcantara, 1961; Henriette Bessis, *Marcello: Sculpteur* (Fribourg: Musée d’Art et d’Histoire de Fribourg, 1980); and Ghislain de Diesbach, *La double vie de la Duchesse Colonna: La chimère bleue* (Paris: Librairie Académique Perrin, 1988). An invaluable text on the sculpture of the period is Peter Fusco and H.W. Janson, *Romantics to Rodin: French Nineteenth-Century Sculpture* (Los Angeles and New York: Los Angeles County Museum of Art and George Braziller, 1980), see esp. 299-300, where Marcello is discussed.

6. This building still exists in Fribourg and a metal coat of arms (dated 1741) and a modern plaque mark its historical importance. The plaque reads, “58 Grand-Rue, maison construite en 1755 par François-Philippe de Diesbach-Steinbrugg, comte du Saint-Empire, maréchal de camp et colonel propriétaire du régiment de Diesbach au service de France, mort le 7 avril 1764. Sa fille Marie-Anne femme du Landammann Louis d’Affry léga cet immeuble à la famille d’Affry.” The building now houses the Musée Wassmer – Musée Suisse de la machine à coudre (the Swiss sewing machine and quaint objects collection).

7. *Historisch-Biographisches Lexicon der Schweiz*. (Neuchâtel: Administration du dictionnaire historique et bibliographique de la Suisse, 1921-29). See the modern version currently being produced, *Dictionnaire historique de la Suisse*, Marco Jorio, ed., Vol. I (Hauterive/Basel: Éditions Gilles Attinger et Fondation Dictionnaire historique de la Suisse (DHS), 2002), 93-96. (Hereafter cited as DHS)

8. In the 2002 edition of the DHS under the heading “Affry,” the suggestion is made that the family could also have originated from the village of Avry-devant-Pont. See the DHS, 93.

9. In the 2002 edition of the DHS, No women are given independent entries under the “Affry” heading. Adèle d’Affry’s biography will be placed in the forthcoming volume under the heading “Marcello.”

10. See Benoit de Diesbach Belleruche, *La Famille d’Affry* (Fribourg: Intermède Belleruche, 2003). An up-to-date Affry genealogy is available online. See also Benoit de Diesbach-Belleruche, 2001. Site Généalogique et Héraldique du Canton de Fribourg [online]. Fribourg: Intermède Belleruche. [cited 11 March 2007]. Available from the World Wide Web: www.diesbach.com.



Fig. 1-6. Holy water font at the entrance of the Church of Saint Laurent, Parish of Givisiez and Granges-Paccot, showing Affry coat of arms. Photograph by the author.



Fig. 1-7a. Stained glass panel with Affry coat of arms. 1580. Stained glass. Château de Gruyères, Gruyères, Switzerland.

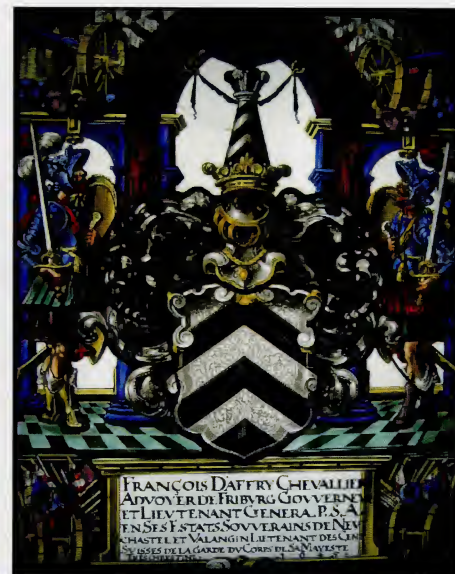


Fig. 1-7b. Stained glass window panel with Affry coat of arms, made in honor of François d'Affry. 1645. Stained glass. Musée Gruérien, Bulle, Switzerland. Photo: Courtesy of the Musée Gruérien, Bulle, Switzerland. Photograph: Uta Bergmann, Virocentre Romont.

early date in Swiss history; it should be noted that the first three cantons of Switzerland (Uri, Schwyz, and Obwalden/Nidwalden) had united only two years earlier (1291).¹¹ The Maillardoz family, that is, Adèle d’Affry’s maternal lineage, is also included in the *Histo-
risch-Biographisches Lexicon* and its roots can be traced in Fribourg as far back as 1230, long before the Swiss confederation came to be.

The Château d’Affry in Givisiez, just outside of the city of Fribourg, where Adèle d’Affry grew up and spent most of her life, was built in the early years of the eighteenth century.¹² Originally built for Nicolas-Alexandre d’Affry and his wife Ursule Tardy, the Château d’Affry was known as the Maison aux armes d’Affry during the nineteenth century. The street that leads to the château is appropriately named the “route du Château d’Affry,” which attests to the importance of the building and the history of its inhabitants. The first Landamann or “president” of Switzerland, Louis d’Affry, had also lived at the château. He later composed and signed the Act of Mediation with Napoleon I (see below for a discussion of this Act). The family owned additional property in the surrounding area, but much of it has long been turned over to private foundations. In fact, there are two châteaux d’Affry in Givisiez: the Maison aux armes d’Affry mentioned above, where Adèle d’Affry actually lived, and the older one, now known as Le Manoir, which since 1989 has operated as an assisted-living hostel for the aged.¹³ L’Église Saint-Laurent, the small church at Givisiez, known as the Paroisse de *Givisiez et Granges-Paccot*, (fig. 1-5). Built in 1777, the church contains the Affry family crest (fig. 1-6), positioned on the holy water fonts near the entrance of the chapel. Within its churchyard the final resting places of many members of the family can be found, including that of Adèle d’Affry (Marcello) herself.

Adèle d’Affry was the namesake of her great great-grandmother on her maternal side. The original Adèle d’Affry (1701-1744) married Antoine Constantine de Maillardoz (1691-1768) in 1720; thus her parents’ union was not the first to join the two families. The Affry and Maillardoz families are best remembered for their historic roles as part of the Swiss military service abroad, which provided regiments to the kings of France and other European Courts. They served France continually from 1536 to 1818. One of the first of Adèle d’Affry’s paternal ancestors to enter into such service was Louis d’Affry (1535-1608), a commander of four hundred Swiss Guards at Lyon. François Louis d’Affry (1590-1645), son of Louis, served in a wide range of military positions including that of Lieutenant of “Les Cent Suisses” (The One-Hundred Swiss Guards), an elite faction of the militia. A stained

11. Jean-Jacques Bouquet, *Histoire de la Suisse* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1995), 13. “Les habitants des vallées situées entre le Gothard et Lucerne, les *Waldstätten* ou pays forestiers, formaient quatre corporations: Uri, Schwyz et les deux Unterwald, au-dessus et au-dessous (Obwald et Nidwald) de la forêt qui les sépare.”

12. For the history of the château and the surrounding buildings, which were once part of a large complex owned by the Affry family, see Anne-Marie Benali-Chatton, *Le Manoir de Givisiez: Une Histoire, une fondation* (Givisiez: Oertig à Givisiez, 1996).

13. As noted in Benali-Chatton, 7, “Givisiez était alors appelé le Versailles de Fribourg.” La Fondation le Manoir, located at Place d’Affry 2 in Givisiez, was the former residence of a number of important Affry family members from 1539 to 1819. It was passed on to the Bocard family, relatives of the Affry’s, until 1922.



Fig. 1-8. Jean-Baptiste Bapst. *Portrait of François Pierre d'Affry* (1667-1734). Oil on canvas. Fondation d'Affry, Fribourg.



Fig. 1-9. Alexandre Roslin. *Portrait of Louis-Auguste-Augustin d'Affry, Wearing the Cross of the Order of Saint Esprit*. 1784-85. Oil on canvas. Fondation d'Affry, Fribourg.

glass panel honoring the Affry family can be found at the Château de Gruyères (fig. 1-7a). Another stained-glass representation of the Affry crest with a full description of François' honorific titles is currently located in the Musée Gruérien, Bulle (fig. 1-7b).

François Pierre Joseph d'Affry (fig. 1-8, 1667-1734) also held high military positions; he died in 1734 at the Battle of Guastalla, serving as the Lieutenant General of the armies of the King of France. Later Adèle's paternal great-great grandfather, Count Louis-Auguste-Augustin d'Affry (fig. 1-9, 1713-1793) was a high officer and commander of the Swiss Guard. He was born at Versailles and held a number of important positions during his more than sixty years of military service at the court of Louis XV and Louis XVI, including a post as a French ambassador to Holland.¹⁴ He was an art collector and entertained important cultural figures in his Paris apartment, among them the sculptor Jean-Antoine Houdon (1741-1828) and the painters Jean-Honoré Fragonard (1732-1806) and Claude-Joseph Vernet (1714-1789).¹⁵ Louis-Auguste-Augustin was also a member of the Academy of Architecture in Paris.

There was also a deep, personal connection between Louis-Auguste-Augustin d'Affry and his cousin, Jean-Roch-Frédéric de Maillardoz (1727-1792). Maillardoz was a lieutenant colonel of the Swiss Guard and author of *Considérations et réflexions sur une république aristocratique* (1766). After Louis XVI tried to escape France during the Revolution, the Tuileries were stormed on 10 August 1792, an infamous event known today as the Tuileries Massacre. The Swiss Guard "put up a staunch resistance and two-thirds of the regiment [approximately six hundred men] was annihilated."¹⁶ Affry, who had wanted to retire and used the pretext of his age to do so, was spared at the time of the Tuileries Massacre because his cousin Maillardoz had replaced him on 10 August. Affry was subsequently arrested on 10 August, imprisoned at l'Abbaye, released on 2 September, and was finally acquitted by the Revolutionary Tribunal on 10 October. He then retired to his homeland in Saint-Barthélemy, where he died eleven months later.¹⁷ Maillardoz, on the other hand, was arrested on 10 August after escorting Louis XVI and the royal family to the Tuileries and was imprisoned at the Conciergerie, along with Queen Marie-Antoinette and other members and friends of the Monarchy. On the day Affry was released from prison, his cousin who replaced him was killed, "massacré par la populace," during the bloodbath at the Conciergerie.¹⁸ Later, Napoléon Bonaparte was greatly impressed by the bravery of the Swiss guards and their willingness to give their lives for the ruler of a country that was not their own.¹⁹

14. Affry had an impressive military résumé. The database entry of the DHS (in conjunction with the Swiss National Library) for Louis-Auguste-Augustin d'Affry states that he served as "Cadet aux Gardes suisses en 1725, d'A. brigadier (1744), maréchal de camp (1748), lieutenant-général (1758), colonel des Gardes suisses (1767), ministre plénipotentiaire de Louis XV (1755), puis son ambassadeur ordinaire (1759-1762), auprès des Etats-Généraux de Hollande. Administrateur général des Suisses et Grisons (1771-1792), il était à Versailles l'ambassadeur informel du Corps helvétique." See also Monique von Wistinghausen, "Qui est Marcello? Esquisse socio-historique de l'artiste," in *Marcello (1836-1879)* exh. cat. (Fribourg: Musée d'art et d'histoire, 1980), 11-25.

15. Wistinghausen, 15.

16. Andres Furger, ed. *Swiss National Museum, Zurich and Prangins. Swiss Museums Series*. (Zurich: Swiss Institute for Art Research, 1998), 81. See also Jérôme Bodin, *Les Suisses au service de la France*, (Paris: Édition Albin Michel, 1988), 241-91, esp. 262, 272. For additional information on the events of 10 August and 2-3 September, see Georges Andrey and Alain-Jacques Czouz-Tornare, *Louis d'Affry, 1743-1810, Premier Landamman de la Suisse, La Confédération suisse à l'heure napoléonienne* (Geneva: Slatkine, 2003), 62-71.

17. Georges Andrey, "Louis-Auguste-Augustin d'Affry," *Encyclopédie du Canton de Fribourg* (Fribourg: Office du Livre SA, 1977), 2:454. "Epargné lors du massacre des Tuileries (20 août 1792), journée pendant laquelle il adopta une attitude peu claire, il fut ensuite arrêté à deux reprises avant de pouvoir se retirer en Suisse."

18. J.-R. Bory, "Jean-Roch-Frédéric de Maillardoz," *Encyclopédie du Canton de Fribourg*, 2:485.

19. An exhibition held to recognize the two-hundredth anniversary of the Act of Mediation, entitled *Bonaparte et les Suisses: L'Acte de médiation de 1803*, was held at the Bibliothèque publique et universitaire, Espace Ami Lullin, Geneva, in 2003. According to text posted at this exhibition, "Le spectacle des Suisses chargés de la défense des Tuileries le 10 août 1792 et massacrés par la populace fit grande impression sur Bonaparte qui était alors à Paris."



Fig. 1-11. Pierre-Nicolas Legrand. *Portrait of Charles d'Affry (1772-1818)*.
Not dated. Oil on canvas. Fondation d'Affry, Fribourg.



Fig. 1-10.
Joseph de Landerset.
Louis-Auguste-Philippe d'Affry (1743-1810),
First Landamman of Switzerland. Circa
1803. Oil on canvas. Fondation d'Affry,
Fribourg.

Louis-Auguste-Augustin-d'Affry's son, Count Louis Auguste-Philippe d'Affry (1743-1810),²⁰ is best known as the "Landamman de la Suisse," credited with helping to reconstruct the Swiss Federation.²¹ After studying at the Collège Louis-le-Grand (an elite Jesuit secondary school in Paris, whose other illustrious pupils included Voltaire, the marquise de Sade, and later Charles Baudelaire), Louis d'Affry joined the Swiss Guard in 1758 at the age of sixteen. He worked along side his father and held a number of important military positions. On 4 June 1770 he married his cousin, Marie-Anne de Diesbach-Steinbrugg and they moved into her father's house at 58 Grand-Rue in Fribourg, where Marcello would later be born. He escaped the Tuileries Massacre because he was in Fribourg on 10 August.

In the autumn of 1802, Louis d'Affry went to Paris, as a member of the delegation of Fribourg, to the negotiations of the Act of Mediation, a compromise between old federal structures and new democratic rights. Napoléon chose Affry as the first "Landammann der Schweiz," or Chief of State. A mutual confidence seemed to exist between the older aristocrat (at that time Affry was sixty years old) and the much younger Premier Consul (thirty-four years old). Until his death in 1810, Affry was the key negotiator involved in the then delicate Franco-Swiss relationship. His primary job was to preserve the independence and neutrality of the Swiss motherland under all circumstances, which was not an easy task in Napoleonic Europe. During his last visit to Paris in 1810, Affry met with the Emperor in a long session, and there received the order of "Commandeur" of the Légion d'honneur. Affry died ten days later.²²

Louis Auguste-Philippe d'Affry's portrait as the Landamman, painted by a fellow guard and native of Fribourg, Joseph de Landerset (fig. 1-10), was completed towards the end of his life in 1807.²³ Depicted in formal dress, Louis d'Affry leans his right hand on an upright book, with the letters "PF" inscribed on its cover. This text represents a copy of the Act of Mediation, and the letters "PF" referred to the Act being written in the name of the *Peuple français*; the original text, with this exact cover, is conserved at the Federal Archives in Bern. The desk behind the Landamman is complete with references to the signing and writing of the Act of Mediation: these objects include a quill pen and inkwell, numerous sheets of handwritten documents, and a red pouch containing the official seals, decorated with a personification and inscribed with the date 1803, the year that the Act was passed. At the top left, one finds a gilded tondo containing the image of Napoléon I^{er}, crowned with laurel leaves, who looks over Affry like a protective god. On the right is the allegorical figure of the virtue of Prudence, represented as a sculpture in the background. She is shown with her

20. See Andrey and Czouz-Tornare, 2003. See also Max de Diesbach's "Louis d'Affry: Premier Landamman de la Suisse et la diète fédérale de 1803," in *Jahrbuch für schweizerische Geschichte* Vol. 29 (1904): 169-88; F. de Diesbach's, "Louis d'Affry Landamman de la Suisse, 1743-1810," in *Annales Fribourgeoises* 41 (1951): 176-207; and Johannès Dierauer, *Histoire de la Confédération Suisse*, 5 Vols. (Lausanne: Librairie Payot & Cie., 1918), 156-201, 205-248.

21. There is no equivalent for the word "Landamman" (sometimes alternatively spelled with two "n's") in English or French. The word originates from the German *Landammann*, Land-Bailiff or Land-Ambassador. It is defined as (1) a chief magistrate in some of the Swiss cantons (2) The president of the Helvetic Confederation from 1803-1813. Special thanks must be paid to Monique von Wistinghausen for clarifying this definition. Wistinghausen also discusses this term in the "Avant-propos," in Andrey and Czouz-Tornare, xv, and in the Glossary of the same text, 389. At Wistinghausen's suggestion, I have used the English equivalent "Chief of State" in the above text.

22. The Act of Mediation, passed by Napoléon Bonaparte on 19 February 1803, reestablished the original thirteen cantons of Switzerland, thus changing the name of the government from the Helvetic Republic back to the Swiss Confederation. Switzerland gained much of its independence and neutrality through the Act of Mediation. The downside of the Act was that Napoleon "supervised" the Swiss press, increasing censorship, and monitored Swiss politicians. The Act was repealed on 29 December 1813. An exhibition held to recognize the two-hundredth anniversary of the Act of Mediation, entitled *Bonaparte et les Suisses: L'Acte de médiation de 1803*, was accompanied by a catalogue: Victor Monnier, *Bonaparte et la Suisse: travaux préparatoires de l'Acte de médiation (1803)* (Basel: Helbing and Lichtenhahn, 2002). See also Jocelyn Rochat and Chantal Tauxe, "Napoléon, le faiseur de la Suisse," *L'Hebdo* 30 (24 July 2003): 39-46.

23. For a brief biography on Landerset's life and work, see Ivan Andrey, "Joseph de Landerset, Petit-Maitre patricien," in: *Fribourg 1798: Une Révolution culturelle?* Raoul Blanchard and Hubert Foerster, eds. (Fribourg: Musée d'art et d'histoire, 1998), 111-17.



Fig. 1-12. Louis d'Affry. *Untitled [Landscape]*. 1839.
Watercolor. Fondation d'Affry,
Fribourg.



Fig. 1-13. Louis d'Affry. *Untitled [Landscape]*. Circa
1839. Watercolor. Fondation d'Affry,
Fribourg.

typical iconography, a mirror and a snake.²⁴ The figure is important because she signifies Affry's own prudence in helping to pass the Act of Mediation. The image serves as an excellent example of Swiss political iconography from the early years of the nineteenth century. Two copies of this painting are known; one is conserved in the Musée d'art et d'histoire in Fribourg and the other is in the Château d'Affry.

Around 1803, the Landamman gave his cousin, the marquis Antoine Constantin de Maillardoz (1765-1832) the title of "envoyé extraordinaire du Landamman et de la Confédération Suisse." Louis had found out that Constantin's father, Jean-Roch-Frédéric de Maillardoz, had given his life in exchange for that of his own father. Thus Louis's naming his cousin to an honorific, lucrative post and naming him Swiss Minister to Paris was, according to historian Max de Diesbach, "without a doubt an act of reparation."²⁵ Constantin's brother (and Marcello's maternal grandfather), Philippe de Maillardoz, later played an important role in the Swiss Sonderbund (Separatist League, 1845-47).²⁶

Louis-Auguste-Philippe d'Affry's son, Count Charles Philippe d'Affry (fig 1-11, 1772-1818) was the godchild of the Count d'Artois and Madame Adélaïde de France. He would be the last of the family to serve in the mercenary force. He too served as "Sous-lieutenant au régiment des Gardes Suisse" in August of 1792, but was sent to Normandy and thus, like his father and grandfather, escaped the massacre at the Tuileries. In 1806, he joined the Swiss regiments required by Napoléon and took part in the Campaigns of Spain and Russia. He was named "Maréchal de camp au service de la France" when the service of the Swiss Guard was briefly restored.²⁷ After becoming an Officier de la Légion d'honneur in 1812, he resigned from the military in 1815. Charles d'Affry made many watercolors depicting scenes of battles and military life. His death predated his granddaughter Adèle's birth, but her childhood nevertheless was filled with remembrances of her ancestors. His watercolors and drawings were available to her as a child, and some are still conserved at the Château d'Affry.

Charles's son Jules died at a very young age, and it was his second son, Count Louis-François-Romain-Charles d'Affry (see fig. 1-2, 1810-1841), who became Adèle's father. A lieutenant in the Swiss cavalry, he enjoyed drawing and watercolor painting (see figs. 1-12 and 1-13). Although he was a talented draughtsman, for the most part his artistic pursuits were a pastime, not a serious commitment. It is, however, possible that his interest in art was conveyed to his daughter during their very short time together; he died at the age of

24. Prudence is usually shown with a mirror, which refers to the prudent person who has the ability to see her or himself the way s/he really is; the snake is a reference to Matthew 10:16, "Be ye wise (*prudentes*) as serpents."

25. Max de Diesbach, "Louis d'Affry: Premier Landamman de la Suisse et la Diète Fédérale de 1803," in *Jahrbuch für schweizerische Geschichte*, Vol. 29 (Zürich: S. Höhr, 1904), 182.

26. The *Sonderbund*, or Separatist League, was an illegal resistance force of seven Roman Catholic cantons of Switzerland (Fribourg, Lucerne, Schwyz, Uri, Unterwalden, Valais and Zug). The league was formed to protect Catholic interests and prevent the formation of a more centralized Swiss government. In 1848 a federal constitution ended the sovereignty of the individual cantons and forced the end of the *Sonderbund*. For Philippe de Maillardoz's (i.e., Marcello's maternal grandfather's) role in the *Sonderbund*, see his own account, *Mémoire sur ma participation aux événements de Fribourg en 1847* (Lausanne: Association Semper Fidelis, 1996 [1850]).

27. The Swiss Guard was finally dissolved in France after the Revolution of 1830. Today the Swiss Guard corps remain in service in Rome, and are the primary security force for Vatican City. See Furger, 81.



Fig. 1-15. Adèle Colonna (known as Marcello after 1863). Drawing after Michelangelo's Sistine Chapel Frescoes, showing detail from the *Last Judgment* Altarpiece. Circa 1859. Ink on paper. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.



Fig. 1-14. Dietler. Portrait of Cécile d'Affry. Undated. Watercolor. Fondation d'Affry, Fribourg.

thirty-one, just eleven days short of Adèle's fifth birthday. His enigmatic death, which was not often discussed by members of the family, occurred relatively soon after the birth of a second daughter, Cécile-Marie-Philippine-Caroline (fig. 1-14, 1839-1911), later the Baroness d'Ottensfels. In his biography of Adèle d'Affry, Ghislain de Diesbach asked if it was a brain fever or suicide ("fièvre cérébrale... se serait-il suicidé...?") that led to Louis' death.²⁸ He also noted, however, that in her later years Adèle d'Affry would have a number of older male friends who acted as father figures for her.²⁹ Since only his wife and two daughters survived him, Louis's death brought the long, celebrated Affry line to an end.³⁰ In her memoirs, Adèle expressed regret that she could not add to her illustrious family's military history, noting that "all my life I experienced the evidently hereditary regret of not having been a soldier, but instead a woman and an artist."³¹

EARLY EDUCATION AND ARTISTIC TRAINING

Lucie de Maillardoz, the Countess d'Affry, widowed at the age of twenty-five with two small daughters, impressed an aristocratic upbringing on her children, one appropriate to their class status. She provided her daughters Adèle and Cécile with a broad education that emphasized art, literature, and music, a curriculum she certainly deemed most appropriate to their future lives as women of aristocratic standing. Perhaps more important to Adèle d'Affry's intellectual and emotional development was her relationship with her mother and the values that the latter impressed upon her. Their relationship remained strong throughout their lives and Affry sought and respected her mother's opinions on everything from art to love. Hundreds of letters between mother and daughter are extant, and span almost a twenty-year period. The Countess had asked Guillaume d'Affry (1779-1860), son of the Landamman, to mentor Adèle and Cécile. Travel at an early age between the family property in Nice and their home in Fribourg exposed them to many cultured pursuits. Coming of age in a household headed by a self-sufficient, confident woman certainly prepared them for independent, self-directed lives.

By the age of fifteen, Adèle d'Affry was fully absorbed in her studies, and her educational routine at home was complemented by frequent trips to France and Italy. The Fondation Marcello conserves twenty-one notebooks used by Affry during her formative years. They include notes on anatomy, the fine arts, Latin, philosophy, and theology. She also kept notebooks on specific artists and intellectuals, such as Michelangelo, Raphael, Titian, and the color theories of Michel-Eugène Chevreul (1786-1889).³²

28. Diesbach, 32.

29. Diesbach, 14. "...sont déjà des hommes mûrs et sans doute remplacent-ils auprès d'elle le père qui lui a manqué dans son enfance et dont elle aura toujours la nostalgie."

30. Gonzague de Reynold, "Introduction historique," in Alcantara, 21.

31. Adèle Colonna (Marcello), *Mémoires*, 3 [original manuscript], 3 [typewritten copy]. "[...] car toute ma vie aussi fut traversée du regret évidemment héréditaire de n'avoir point été soldat, plutôt que femme et artiste."

32. Chevreul was a chemist hired by the Gobelins tapestry company to work on dye mixtures for fabrics. It was there that he developed his idea that two adjacent colors, when seen by the naked eye, will appear as dissimilar as possible, and that adjacent colors influence each other. Chevreul's *De la loi du contraste simultané des couleurs et de l'assortiment des objets colorés* was published in Paris by Pitois-Levrault in 1839 and influenced such artists as Eugène Delacroix (1798-1863), Georges Seurat (1859-1881), and Robert Delaunay (1885-1941).



Fig. 1-17. Dietler. *Portrait of Don Carlo Colonna, Duke of Castiglione Alibranti*. Circa 1855-56. Watercolor. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.



Fig. 1-16. *Heinrich Max Imhof*, 1865. Historisches Museum, Altdorf, Uri, Switzerland.

Adèle received substantial training in the arts as well. She studied painting in Nice with the French landscape painter Joseph Fricero (1807-1870)³³ and it is traditionally held that she studied watercolor with the German painter Peter von Cornelius (1783-1867). It is also thought that Adèle began to study art at the age of nine with Joseph-Auguste Dietrich (1821-1863), a local artist who made many images of Affry family members.³⁴ After 1853, she spent much of her time in Rome, where she came under the spell of Michelangelo. A portfolio that remains in her childhood home attests to her fascination with his work, as it includes many skillful graphite and ink drawings after the Sistine Ceiling and the Medici Chapel (fig. 1-15). At the age of seventeen she met Heinrich Maximilian Imhof (fig. 1-16, 1795-1869), a Swiss-born sculptor working, like most of the Neo-Classical artists of the day, in Rome.³⁵ She took lessons from Imhof in the basics of sculpture, primarily in modeling figures in clay, beginning in 1853-1854 and again in 1857-1858.

Training in sculpture was widely considered too expensive, messy, noisy, and physically demanding to be appropriate for women. Yet Adèle d’Affry’s training far exceeded the norm; she was provided with not just one art tutor and not just one tour of the major European cities, but many. Drawing and watercolor, even oil painting, were accepted, quiet pastimes for women and girls; they were skills that later could be utilized to teach children in their care. Lessons in sculpture, however, could be seen as both psychologically dangerous and unnecessary, as well as physically hazardous, for an aristocratic girl bound for marriage. Whatever would she need with a skill so unladylike?

Adele d’Affry was given an education that equaled or exceeded that which was typically given to young men of her social class. Although she came from an aristocratic, conservative background that often discouraged women from intellectual pursuits, she seems to have overcome all such restrictions. It is quite possible that her mother’s early widowhood encouraged her to give her daughters a formidable education. At the very least, Lucie de Maillardoze seems to have planted the seeds for some sort of extraordinary achievement in her daughters, even though she certainly did not envision professional careers for them. It was just as well that she prepared them for whatever the future might bring; it gave Adèle the means of coping successfully with a fate not unlike her mother’s.³⁶

By the mid-1850s, Adèle d’Affry had reached a marriageable age. In 1855, she accompanied her mother to Naples, where they were to meet some friends from Fribourg and other luminaries who were in the court of the King of Naples; according to one of her

33. Adèle was one of Fricero’s first students. See Serge Romaine, *Joseph Fricero 1807-1870: Ses voyages, Nice, Saint-Petersbourg, La Cour de Nicolas 1^{er}*. (Paris: Chez Jacques Ferrand, 1993), 105-6.

34. Carl Brun, ed., *Schweizerisches Künstler-Lexicon* (Frauenfeld: Verlag Von Huber, 1905), 13; Hélène de Diesbach, “Marcello, La Duchesse Colonna née d’Affry,” in *La Femme suisse, un livre de famille*, Gertrude Villiger-Keller, ed., (Neuchâtel: F. Zahn, 1910), 229.

35. Imhof studied with Johann Heinrich Dannecker and Bertel Thorvaldsen. His style was characteristically Neo-classical and he often dealt with Christian subject matter. His first biographer was E. Prosch, who wrote *Heinrich Max Imhof* (1870) and he is listed in Gantner and Reinle’s encyclopedic *Kunstgeschichte der Schweiz* (1962). The most recent study on Imhof was published in 1995, the late Karl Iten’s *Heinrich Max Imhof (1795-1869): Ein Urner Bildhauer in Rom*. exh. cat. (Aldorf: Historisches Museum Uri, 1995).

36. Adèle was widowed at the age of twenty. Her sister Cécile became a poet.

biographers, Odette d'Alcantara, she made quite an impression on many of the young military men in their company. The Princess Colonna (née Marie Jeanne Catteano de San Nicandro) remarked that the young and beautiful Swiss blond would make a lovely wife for her second son Carlo Colonna (fig. 1-17, 1825-1856).

As was customary for the period, negotiations for marriage were carried out, and the ceremony was held on 5 April 1856 in Rome. Normally this would have effectively ended Affry's possibilities for a serious career in sculpture or any other art form. Her role as wife and, as they must have assumed, mother, would now have to take precedence, and when Pope Pius IX bestowed on Don Carlo Colonna the title of Duke of Castiglione Altibranti, his nineteen-year old wife thus became the Duchess de Castiglione Colonna, a woman of high aristocratic status. A career in sculpture was possibly the furthest thing from her mind at that point. For a few weeks the newlyweds resided at the Château Colonna at San Marino, where Vittoria Colonna, the famed poet, had been born.³⁷ To reside in the childhood home of this great intellectual woman, poet, and close friend of Michelangelo, and to have had access to the famed Palazzo Colonna in Rome must have been an incredible thrill for the young duchess. By all accounts, the marriage was a happy one; the duchess was devoted to her "Carluccio," as she called him, and it seemed that a happy future awaited them both.

37. Adèle Colonna (Marcello), *Mémoires*, "39 bis," [original manuscript], 26 [typewritten copy].

38. Adèle Colonna (Marcello), *Mémoires*, 41 [original manuscript], 30 [typewritten copy]. "Je restai cinq ou six heures assise près de lui, les yeux fixes, dans une terrible et tranquille horreur. Tout m'avait été repris, et la raison seule, parmi ce désastre de toutes mes facultés, éclairait cette scène d'une lueur claire, précise, je ne perdis rien de vue, et même l'avenir m'apparut tout entier dans son affreux désert, et dans tous les tourments que j'ai subis depuis." See also the latter from Adèle Colonna (Marcello) to her mother, the Countess d'Affry, dated 18 December 1856, Archives FM, which reads in part, "Je viens de traverser la plus triste épreuve qu'on puisse traverser pour une femme qui aime son mari, mon pauvre Carluccio est mort ce matin après 5 jours de maladie. Je suis bien affligée, comme vous le pensez, mais Dieu me soutient." [I have come to cross the saddest ordeal one can face as a wife who loves her husband, my poor Carluccio died this morning after five days of being ill. I am terribly afflicted, as you might imagine, but God supports me.]

39. The Count Ladislas de Diesbach-Belleroche was Adèle Colonna's uncle on her maternal side. He was married to her mother's sister, Caroline de Maillardoz.

Thier married bliss, unfortunately, would not last. Their honeymoon was cut short when, two months after arriving in Paris, Carlo Colonna contracted typhoid fever and, within three days of being diagnosed, died on 18 December 1856, only eight months after their wedding. The Duchess Colonna wrote in striking terms of her experience at his death:

*I remained seated beside him for five or six hours, my eyes fixed, in a terrible and tranquil horror. Everything had been taken from me, and in this disaster of all my senses, only reason brought precise clarity to this scene. I did not lose track of anything, and even the future appeared to me in its entirety, as a dreadful desert and in all the torments that I have suffered since.*³⁸

At the beginning of 1857, the twenty-year old widow in Givisiez, where she took care of her severely sick mother. Only when she was out of danger, in March, did Colonna return to Italy with her uncle, Count Ladislas de Diesbach-Belleroche³⁹. The trip had two

goals: to visit relatives in Rome and to find out if she was entitled to anything through Carlo Colonna's will.

While waiting for the testament to be read, her uncle searched for a place for his niece to stay in Rome. In the summer of 1857, she was installed in the convent at Trinità del Monte, the famous church atop the Spanish Steps (fig. 1-18), less than a block away from the French Academy in Rome at the Villa Médicis. Adèle Colonna noted that the cell she occupied was decorated only with a large crucifix, a small bed, and a fireplace, and was only ten feet square ("tout au plus dix pieds carrés").⁴⁰ In exchange for the space, she aided the religious in their daily duties. Her existence there, however, was not so simple; the longer she stayed in Rome, the more artistic connections she made, and the more she visited museums, churches and ruins, the greater her desire became for an intellectual and creative life. She filled her days visiting churches and museums, admiring antiquities, and frequenting the salons of important society figures. Although nothing significant had been settled from her late husband's last will and testament, she decided, against her mother's initial advice, to remain in Rome and resume her sculpture studies with Imhof.

EARLY CAREER: 1858-1862

The earliest-known sculptures by the Duchess Colonna are her *Self-Portrait* (fig. 1-19) and her *Portrait of Carlo Colonna* (fig. 1-20), sculpted as companion pieces from the end of 1857 to early 1858.⁴² Both works were produced in plaster, an inexpensive but traditional material mimicking marble, and both were secured to matching socle bases. Although of the two, only the *Self-Portrait* is signed (as "Adèle Colonna") and dated, both were certainly made around the same time while she was still studying under Imhof in Rome. Already at this early stage in her artistic development, Adèle Colonna was, as evidenced by the *Self-Portrait*, well on her way to creating a personal identity and style. Portrait sculpture would occupy her for most of her career, and she was adamant about achieving realistic likenesses of her subjects, often using photographs, products of a still-nascent technology, as reference materials. The *Self-Portrait* exhibits both a sure hand, as noted by the elaborate hairstyle in the back, and a youthful naïveté, evidenced by the simplified garment and brooch. She also included fine wisps of hair near the ears and at the nape of the neck, giving the work a naturalistic quality. Her attention to details such as garments, hairstyles, and jewelry would increase as her work became more advanced.



Fig. 1-18. Church of Trinità del Monte, atop the Spanish Steps, Rome. Photograph by the author.

40. Adèle Colonna (Marcello), *Mémoires*, 44 [original manuscript], 33 [typewritten copy].

41. Adèle Colonna (Marcello), *Mémoires*, "Paris 1," [original manuscript], 39-41 [typewritten copy], for a discussion of her acquaintances made in Paris.

42. These two sculptures were only discovered in the attic of the Château d'Affry in the 1970s; thus they were unknown and not discussed by scholars before that decade.



Fig. 1-19. Adele Colonna (Marcello). *Self-Portrait*.
1857-58. Plaster.
Fondation Marcello, Fribourg [S 71]. Photograph by
the author.

Colonna's goal was to attain the strength of expression that she found in Roman portrait busts, and she was particularly enamored with the work of Michelangelo, whom she emulated. Interestingly, she used two different eyeball styles in the *Self-Portrait* and *Portrait of Carlo Colonna*; in figural sculpture the eye has been, since antiquity, the most difficult and important aspect of the head for an artist. Rudolph Wittkower wrote extensively on Gianlorenzo Bernini's use of the "incised eyeball" for heroic portraits and saints, and the "blank eyeball" for regular portraits. Colonna used the incised version in her own portrait, but the blank version for the eyes of her late husband. Throughout her career, she seems to have used the incised eyeball for realistic portraits of living persons, and the more mystical and other-worldly blank eyeball in her depictions of heroes, mythological figures and posthumous portraits.⁴³

At the end of 1857, Colonna mentioned in a letter to her mother that she had begun working on the *Portrait of Carlo Colonna*. She later recalled that the work was inspired by a combination of "this passion of love, hard to extinguish, and the cult of beauty that sweetly soothes my grief for its lonely dreams."⁴⁴ The somber portrait of the Duke of Colonna, produced posthumously, was modeled from memory and possibly from some images of him that the duchess had in her possession. His garments are certainly more elaborate than those of the *Self-Portrait*, and the detail of the facial hair is impressively modeled through skilled tool marks. These two sculptures were her earliest experiments in the medium, and they were never exhibited publicly during the artist's lifetime. Today they are in fragile condition and are kept together at the Fondazione Marcello.

In March of 1858, Colonna left Rome and traveled to Nice and Paris, and then to Fribourg for the summer. She had decided to leave Rome in March because she was then twenty-one and the decision about Carlo Colonna's estate had been made by this time. Although some sources suggest that she came into quite a bit of wealth, in reality parts of the will that would have benefited her greatly were never executed.⁴⁵ She spent most of her time in Rome working on sketches, modeling sculptures and studying anatomy. She complained in her diary, summing up her progress during 1860-61, that because of some bouts of illness, she had not been as productive as she would have liked. However she felt that her trips to Rome during this period "launched a new epoch in [her] studies."⁴⁶ The years between 1858 and 1862 were formative for they marked her recognition of

43. Rudolph Wittkower, *Sculpture: Processes and Principles*. (New York and London: Penguin, 1977), 185-88.

44. Adèle Colonna (Marcello), *Mémoires*, 45 [original manuscript], 34 [typewritten copy]. "L'idée me vint de faire le buste de mon mari, combinant cette passion d'amour mal éteinte, et le culte du beau qui calmait doucement mes peines dans ces rêves solitaires."

45. Adèle Colonna (Marcello), *Mémoires*, 43 [original manuscript], 32 [typewritten copy]. "Par contrat de mariage, je devais jouir des revenus de mon mari ma vie durant. [C]e contrat, confié pour être enregistré à don Vincenzo Colonna, oncle de mon mari, maire de Rome, n'avait pas reçu cette formalité encore, et donna prise par là au refus d'exécuter les engagements. Un protégé de mon mari, son homme d'affaires et le mien nécessairement, arrangea les choses de façon qu'il fut ensuite récompensé par la confiance de la partie adverse."

46. Adèle Colonna (Marcello), personal diary sheets (known as the *Récapitulation*) circa 1862, *Recapitulation of 1860-1861*, Archives FM. "Le voyage de Rome inaugure une nouvelle époque dans mes études."



Fig. 1-20. Adèle Colonna (Marcello). *Portrait of Carlo Colonna.*
1857-58. Plaster. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg [S 63].



Fig. 1-21. Rosalie Riesener. *Portrait of Madam Duchess Castiglione Colonna – Marcello.*
1866. Oil on canvas. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.

her desire to become a professional artist. She was developing an artistic philosophy of her own and wrote that a true spirit should accompany each of her works.

Colonna truly began her career when she arrived in Paris, where in 1859 she leased an apartment from Léon Riesener (1808-1878), a painter and cousin of Eugène Delacroix (1798-1863).⁴⁷ Riesener had purchased the plot of land on the corner of the rue Bayard and the Cours-la-Reine in 1846.⁴⁸ It was through her friendship with Riesener's daughter Rosalie (1843-1913), that she later met the painter Berthe Morisot (1841-1895), their neighbor and friend. According to Tiburce Morisot, in an early biography of the Impressionist, "Berthe met the Duchess Colonna at the Rieseners'. She was known everywhere in the art world under the name of Marcello, and her studio at the Cours-la-Reine shared a wall with the Rieseners' house. They became friends and from her contact with the duchess, Berthe developed a desire to sculpt as well."⁴⁹ A student of her father, Rosalie Riesener was a highly talented painter and draftsman in her own right, and she exhibited on a number of occasions at the Paris Salon. Although the few sources that mention Rosalie Riesener state that she exhibited only in the Salons of 1865 and 1866, in fact she later exhibited under her married name, Pillaut, in 1877, 1880, and 1881.⁵⁰ Her successful 1866 submission was a portrait of the duchess Colonna (fig. 1-21), now prominently displayed at the Fondation Marcello.

Although Colonna sought art instruction in Paris, there were few educational opportunities open to women in the early 1860s. A proper education for women artists, especially sculptors, during the 1850s and early 1860s was almost non-existent. Madame Léon (Hélène) Bertaux (1825-1909), unquestionably the most important advocate for women's artistic education in Paris during the last three decades of the century, had not yet opened her first "ateliers d'études," where she held *cours de modelage et de sculpture* exclusively for women.⁵¹ The Duchess Colonna was already a professional sculptor working on commissions when the development and success of the *ateliers privés* began in Paris in the later 1860s and early 1870s. Although she had had a number of years of training with Imhof by the time she reached Paris and had set up a permanent studio, she continued seeking advice from many artists, remaining open to suggestions and commentary on her art production. In addition to her sculptural work, Colonna was also painting and sought advice from painter-friends such as Delacroix.

47. Delacroix's step-grandfather was the cabinetmaker Jean-Henri Riesener (1734-1806) and his mother's half-brother was the painter Henri-François Riesener (1767-1828). Léon Riesener's daughter Rosalie (1843-1913) was also a painter who exhibited in a number of Salon exhibitions under her maiden name and her married name, Pillaut. Her 1866 entry was her *Portrait de la duchesse Colonna* (Fig. 1-21) now located at the Fondation Marcello.

48. She remained at 1, rue Bayard until 1867, at which time she moved to 16, rue Neuve-des-Capucines (now the rue des Capucines). Constantine Nigra, an Italian ambassador whom she knew, later occupied her former apartment. See *Léon Riesener, 1808-1878*, ex. cat. (London: Couper Gallery, 1965), n.p. Riesener's original property no longer exists at the site as it was destroyed during the Franco-Prussian War and the current building at 1, rue Bayard was built by Charles Mewes in 1887.

49. Tiburce Morisot, as quoted in Armand Fourreau, *Berthe Morisot* (Paris: F. Reider et Cie., 1925), 26. Translated in Alain Clairret, et al., *Berthe Morisot, 1841-1895: catalogue raisonné de l'œuvre peinte*, translations by Jean-Alice Coyner (Montolivet: CERA-nrs, 1997), 79.

50. Riesener is listed in the livret for 1877 in the painting section as "Pillaut-Riesener (Mme)," and as having submitted a work entitled *Portrait de Mlle****; in 1880 in the drawing section named incorrectly, "Pillaud-Riesener (Mme Rosalie)," as the artist of *Portrait de Mlle**** in pastel; and finally in 1881, again in the drawing section and again incorrectly as "Pillaud (Mme. Rosalie, née Riesener)," as the artist of *Portrait de M. Julien P...*, in pastel.

51. The most significant study of Bertaux is Tamar Garb's *Sisters of the Brush: Women's Artistic Culture in Late Nineteenth-Century Paris* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994).

There are conflicting reports of how Colonna finally met Delacroix, but most likely a studio visit was arranged either by Joséphine de Forget (Delacroix's cousin and for some time his lover as well), the Rieseners, or the politician and later first president of the Third Republic, Adolphe Thiers, a friend of both artists. Colonna had admired Delacroix's work greatly and sought him out almost as soon as she reached Paris. They quickly became friends. The Romantic painter wrote of her work and her beauty in his diaries and letters, and she was an avid collector of his oil sketches, many of them purchased through his student and assistant, Pierre Andrieu. She queried Delacroix for advice on her own painting, which he provided, along with the suggestion that she also seek advice on painting from her landlord, Riesener, who was also willing to help.

Although she was always open to advice from her artist-friends, Marcello really had no master other than Michelangelo. As she wrote in her notes from around 1861, "the powerful hand of Michelangelo teaches me to assemble scattered elements, to subject them to a supreme force."⁵² There are countless references to Michelangelo in Marcello's drawings and writings, including drawings after the Sistine Ceiling and written passages in her memoirs. In recounting her early days in Rome, she recalled his influence: "From my first visits to the Vatican, I had in my innocence, with regard to art, impressions of the masters which have lasted throughout my life. Michelangelo appeared to me to dominate all, and I was delighted without end by the ease and the noble sincerity of antique sculpture."⁵³ She even wrote of Michelangelo's greatness on her deathbed.⁵⁴ Her style became so different from that of Imhof and the other artists she worked with in her early career that none of them can truly be designated as her teacher. Although some sources claim that she studied and worked in the studio of Marie-Louise Lefèvre-Deumier (1816-1877), an unofficial portraitist of the imperial family and a frequent Salon exhibitor, the true extent of her relationship with Lefèvre-Deumier is unclear.⁵⁵

If we are to believe the suggestions of various sources, Colonna also studied with Ernest Hébert, Mariano Fortuny, Attilio Simonetti, Henri Regnault, Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux, and Jean-Baptiste (called Auguste) Clésinger. All of this must be analyzed critically; although she developed strong professional relationships with all of these artists, as will be discussed presently, it is hard to imagine Colonna as a perpetual student, chasing after these artists all over Europe. Rumors of female artists' relationships with highly regarded male artists are typical and persistent in art historical writing. Among

52. Adèle Colonna (Marcello), personal diary sheets (known as the *Récapitulation*) circa 1862, *Recapitulation* of 1860-1861, Archives FM. "Je comprends mieux, par l'ensemble, et la puissante main de Michel-Ange m'enseigne à rassembler les éléments épars pour leur imprimer une souveraine impulsion."

53. Adèle Colonna (Marcello), *Mémoires*, "46 bis," [original manuscript], 34 [typewritten copy]. "Dès mes premières visites au Vatican, j'eus dans mon ingénuité à l'égard des arts des impressions qui ont persisté durant toute ma vie, à l'égard des maîtres. Michel-Ange me parut tout dominer, et j'étais sans cesse ravie par l'aisance et la noble sincérité de la sculpture antique."

54. Adèle Colonna (Marcello), *Mémoires*, final pages, dated 13 July 1879. These sheets are not paginated or included in the typewritten copy of the manuscript. They seem to have been dictated to her domestic as they are written in someone else's hand. In these pages, Marcello calls Dante and Michelangelo "[les] beaux génies."

55. Hélène de Diesbach, in *La Femme suisse*, notes on page 250 that Marcello worked in Lefèvre-Deumier's studio and made her sculptures of *La Belle Hélène* and *Sainte Clothilde* (the latter now lost) there. See Hélène de Diesbach's article "Marcello, la Duchesse Colonna, née d'Affry," in *La Femme Suisse, un livre de famille* (Neuchâtel: F. Zahn, 1910). Marcello certainly knew Lefèvre-Deumier and who is mentioned in a letter to her mother dated 22 July 1867.

most discussions of women artists written over the centuries, there has always been a need to justify the worth of female artists through a discussion of the famous men they knew, worked around, befriended, loved and/or married. As Kristen Frederickson has astutely pointed out in an essay concerning Camille Claudel, women in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries "were presented as inherently and inescapably students, by virtue of their [supposed] limited capacity for originality."⁵⁶ It thus should be clarified at the outset that although she remained open to advice, criticism, and suggestions for new media from her friends and colleagues, Colonna followed no teacher and, totally independent, answered to no one throughout her career.

Givisiez remained a significant place in Colonna's life for both personal and professional reasons. It completed a traveling triangle with Paris and Rome, the two other places where the artist spent the bulk of her working life. She maintained a studio in Givisiez from the mid-1860s and this studio still exists today. Colonna and her mother, the Countess Lucie d'Affry, renovated the château in Givisiez beginning in mid-1860s (around 1866-68), adding on two adjacent buildings to the main part of the original 1708 structure. One section became Colonna's second sculpture studio, where she worked and entertained guests when she was home from Paris. Directly above the studio Adèle Colonna situated her bedroom. Later in her career, when she suffered more gravely from the effects of tuberculosis, having the bedroom directly above the studio was crucial, as she would often feel the need to take rests during a day working in the studio.

Back in Paris in 1861, Colonna continued to progress. In an attempt to gain access to the École des beaux-arts, then closed to women, Colonna evidently asked a male friend or member of her family to write a letter on her behalf requesting permission to draw at the École. The reply, dated 12 December 1861 and written on official *École Impériale et Spécial des Beaux-Arts* stationery is conserved at the Fondation Marcello. Addressed to "Monsieur," and signed L. Viniz, the letter is worth reproducing here in its entirety:

In your letter dated to the tenth of this month, you asked me if our rules permitted the approval of Madame la Duchess Colonna di Castiglione the authorization to draw in the classrooms at the École.

The rules of a school to which young male artists come to receive training cannot accommodate such a request; they do not permit this. An analogy cannot be established

56. Kristen Frederickson, "Carving Out a Place: Gendered Critical Descriptions of Camille Claudel and her Sculpture," *Word & Image* 12:2 (April-June 1996): 161-74.

between our classrooms and the galleries of the Louvre; at the École, our students feel at home, often they are few in number, they know each other, and they do not have reason to hold back because of strangers; the Louvre, on the contrary, is the museum of the entire world; one finds there workers of both sexes who, by their great number, support each other mutually and this profusion is augmented by the crowd of visitors who stroll through the galleries daily. Nothing like that exists at the École, and in spite of the fact that we keep an eye on them, some small outbreak of high spirits occurs from time to time. That we must pardon, because they are young, but this would not appeal to everyone.

I think, sir, that these observations will modify the request that you have made to me; but should it be otherwise, I would be very grateful if you would deal with this matter officially, with our President, who can submit it to the Assembly General.⁵⁷

Clearly Viniz tried with this letter to discourage Colonna from attempting to gain access to the École. He stressed, by his underlining of the word “*mâles*” in the text, that the École did not permit women in its classrooms. Using a “sour grapes” approach, Viniz attempted to paint a picture of the École classrooms as a bit unruly, complete with the students apparent “cheerfulness” (comprised of who knows what; comments against women were possible, in addition one imagines off-color jokes about sex, bodily functions and other unpleasanties) that might be deemed crude and tasteless to other members of society. Viniz points out that the students “do not have reason to hold back because of foreign persons,” which seems to relate to the disrobing of the male models used at the École, and open conversations on art, politics, nudity, sex, society, and other actions and topics often deemed inappropriate for the eyes and ears of a woman.

Adèle Colonna did not take rejection lightly. Obviously feeling that Viniz’s reasons for keeping the door of the École closed to her were feeble at best, she wrote a reply. Although it is unclear whether she actually mailed the reply, an undated draft copy is extant at the Fondation Marcello. Colonna often made handwritten copies of letters for her own records, so it is likely that she sent the original to the École. In her tongue-in-cheek reply, which is mostly biting and scornful, Colonna makes one excellent observation that she hoped the directors of the École would take to heart:

As for my personal opinion, I do not suppose that your colleague would extend

57. Letter from L. Viniz to “Monsieur,” dated 12 December 1861, Archives FM. “Par votre lettre du 10 de ce mois, vous me demandez si nos règlements permettent d’accorder à Madame la Duchesse Colonna di Castiglione l’autorisation de dessiner dans les salles de l’École. Les règlements d’une école dans lesquelles de jeunes artistes *mâles* viennent recevoir l’enseignement n’ont pas pu prévoir une semblable demande; ils n’admettent pas ce cas comme possible. On ne peut établir aucune analogie entre nos salles et les galeries du Louvre; dans l’École, nos élèves sont chez eux, souvent en petit nombre, se connaissant tous, et ils n’ont pas, pour les retenir, la présence de personnes étrangères; le Louvre, au contraire est le musée du monde entier; on y trouve des travailleurs des deux sexes qui, par leur grand nombre se protègent mutuellement et cette protection est rendue encore plus efficace par la foule des visiteurs qui parcourent journellement les galeries. Rien de tout cela n’existe à l’École, et malgré la surveillance que nous faisons exercer, il échappe de temps en temps quelque petit éclat de gaieté, qu’il faut pardonner à la jeunesse mais qui pourrait ne pas être de goût de tout le monde. Je pense, Monsieur, que ces observations pourront modifier la demande qui vous m’avez communiquée; mais s’il en était autrement, je vous serais fort obligé si vous vouliez traiter cette affaire, officiellement, avec notre Président qui en saisirait l’Assemblée générale.”

his surveillance, I believe that I can relieve him of this worry by assuring him that a woman has no need of being protected by an administration in order to inspire respect around her.⁵⁸

An administration that was secure and promoted the respect of women artists and their work, would not fear that such female artists, if invited to study in the École's drawing classrooms, would be offended. Here Colonna was pointing out that women, if admitted to the École, could take care of themselves.

Medical colleges in both Europe and America did offer opportunities for study where women students were admitted under certain circumstances. After spending most of the following year in Rome making important professional connections with Carpeaux and Jean-Baptiste (known as Auguste) Clésinger (1814-1883), she returned to Paris in the fall of 1861. Upon her return she obtained permission to be present at cadaver dissections at the École pratique de médecine, on the condition that she dress as a man; this would have required her to obtain a permit from the *préfecture de police*.⁵⁹ At the École pratique, she recalled studying with a professor named Dumont, and she owned and used the 1857 edition of the textbook *Anatomie classique du Docteur Auzoux*, published at the "place de l'École-de-médecine, rue Antoine-Dubois 2, Paris."⁶⁰ Later studies note that Marcello studied cadavers with Doctor Auzoux himself and additionally with a professor named Doctor Sapey.⁶¹

It was around this time that she began work on her next major sculpture, *La Belle Hélène* (1861, fig. 1-22). The first of her mythological figures, *La Belle Hélène* was also the first work that she had cast in bronze. Her studies at the École pratique were paying off, as evident in the body of *Hélène*, which is very realistically developed and complete with the suggestion of a clavicle and musculature beneath the flesh. The Bibliothèque nationale in Paris also became Colonna's second home, and throughout her career she would use this resource to research background material for her works. In the early months of 1861, Clésinger, who had recently hired Barbedienne to cast his *Helen of Troy* (fig. 1-23), completed in Rome the previous year, visited Colonna at her studio.

She was experiencing many difficulties with her own version of the subject, remodeling it at least four times. Although she may have been inspired by Clésinger's choice of subject matter, her version of the work is much more Neo-classical, especially in her

58. Adèle Colonna (Marcello) to "Monsieur," undated draft of a response to the letter from the École impériale et spéciale des beaux-arts (dated 12 December 1861), Archives FM. "Quant à mes impressions personnelles je ne suppose pas que votre collègue étende jusque là sa surveillance, je crois pouvoir lui ôter ce souci, en l'assurance qu'une femme n'a nul besoin d'être protégée par une administration pour inspirer le respect autour d'elle."

59. For a woman to dress as a man in Paris during the period, she had to obtain a "transvestite permit" from the *préfecture de police*. Rosa Bonheur is without doubt the most famous artist known to have done this.

60. Adèle Colonna (Marcello), *Mémoires*, "5x" [original manuscript], 48 [typewritten copy]. Marcello's copy of Doctor Auzoux's textbook is conserved at the Fondation Marcello. She also owned Charles de Cheppe et Powell, *La Physique des gens du monde (enseignée en vingt leçons, sans le secours des mathématiques)*, Seconde Edition (Paris: Audin, 1827) and F.P. Liharžik, *La Loi de la croissance et la structure de l'homme* (Vienna: L'Imprimerie Impériale royale de la cour et de l'État, 1862) and Eugène Caudron, *Explication d'un nouvel écorché à l'usage des artistes, sous la direction de M. le docteur J. Fau* (Paris: Méquignon-Marvis, not dated), among other anatomy texts. These texts remain conserved at the Fondation Marcello.

61. *Hélène* de Diesbach, 249. Adèle Colonna mentioned Sapey in a number of letters from 1861, conserved at the Archives FM.

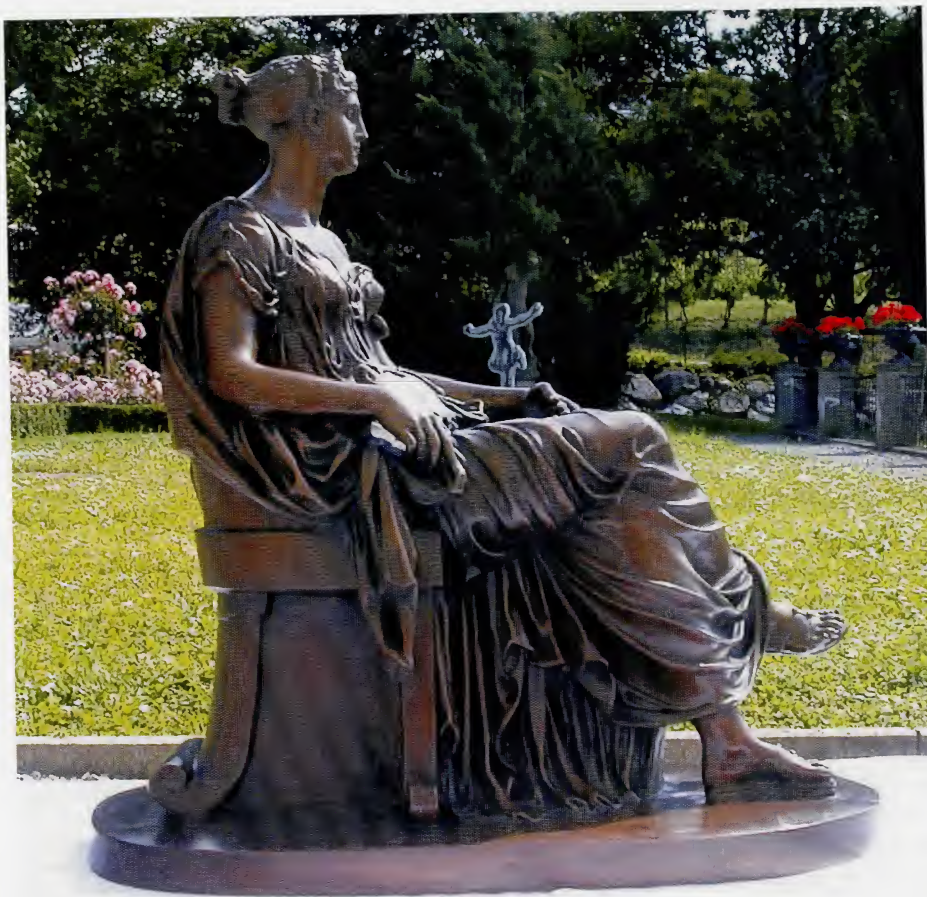


Fig. 1-22. Adèle Colonna (Marcello). *The Beautiful Helen* [*La Belle Hélène*]. 1861. Bronze. Napoleon Museum, Salenstein (Canton of Thurgau), Switzerland. Photograph by the author.



Fig. 1-23. L.R. Illustration of Auguste Clésinger's *Hélène*. 1862. Illustration from *Le Monde illustré* (1862), 92.

treatment of the figure's dress, hair, pose, and the chair on which Hélène sits. The work seems to have been made in homage to her instructor Imhof, a well-known Neo-classicist.

The sculpture quickly brought Colonna recognition. Louis Leroy, the well-known art critic who later gave Impressionism its name, admired *La Belle Hélène* during a visit to Colonna's studio in 1862:

*The artist is reproducing this figure in an enlarged version, and it was for me an interesting sight to see an elegant young woman, without caring for the velvet and the lace of her outfit, tackle this enormous block of clay, searching it, modeling it with a drive that reminds us of the feverish struggles that the sculptor Préault launches against clay, this enemy that offers so little resistance but is, however, so difficult to conquer.*⁶²

Early plaster and painted plaster versions of the sculpture are not signed, but a bronze example in the collection of the Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg, is marked on the base "A. Marcello;" this bronze was most likely cast after she began using the pseudonym in 1863. Ferdinand Barbedienne, an important bronze founder during the period, later owned the rights to reproduce *La Belle Hélène* on order.

Although Colonna complained that she had not been as productive in 1861 as she would have liked, *La Belle Hélène* was an early success; it was the first of her works to enter a public collection. In 1862, Colonna gave a patinated plaster version of the work to the Bernischen Kantonal-Kunstverein (The Bern Art Society). The society, no longer extant, gave its collection to the Kunstmuseum, Bern, where this version of *La Belle Hélène* is now located, unfortunately damaged and in storage.⁶³

An early bronze cast, unsigned because Colonna had yet to take on the pseudonym "Marcello," is also extant and was part of the private collection of Empress Eugénie and Emperor Napoléon III. On 15 April 1862, Colonna wrote to Baron Félix Hippolyte Larrey from her rue Bayard studio, offering to send a bronze sculpture to Napoléon III.⁶⁴ Although the letter does not mention which work she offered, it was most certainly a bronze version of *La Belle Hélène*, at the time her most accomplished piece and that of which she was most proud. For many years it was unclear whether Napoléon III accepted the piece; however, it is now known that the work was accepted and can be found today

62. Louis Leroy, "Revue des ateliers," *Le Charivari* (25 February 1862): 1. "L'artiste est en train de reproduire cette figure en grand, et ça été pour nous un spectacle intéressant de voir une jeune femme élégante, sans souci du velours et des dentelles de sa toilette, s'attaquer à cet énorme bloc de terre glaise, le fouiller, le modeler avec un emportement qui nous a fait penser aux combats fiévreux que le statuaire Préault livre à l'argile, cette ennemie si peu résistante et cependant si difficile à vaincre."

63. The example at the Kunstmuseum in Bern is damaged at the right knee. I thank Judith Durrer who provided me with photographs and documentation for the three sculptures by Marcello the museum's collection.

64. The letter is published in *Nouvelles Archives de l'art français*, troisième série, tome XVI, année 1900. (Paris: F. de Nobele, Librairie de la société, 1973), 289-90.



Fig. 1-24. Adèle Colonna (Marcello). *Diana*, (or *Diana Sleeping*). 1862. Red wax. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg [S 19].



Fig. 1-25. Adèle Colonna (Marcello). *Diana* (also known as *Dina*). 1862. Plaster. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg [S 7].

among the private collection of works owned by the Empress Eugénie and Napoleon III, held at the former home of his mother Queen Hortense at the Château d'Arenenberg in the canton of Thurgovie in Switzerland, now the Napoléon Museum.⁶⁵

Although Colonna was inspired by contemporary operas, *La Belle Hélène* actually predates Jacques Offenbach's opera of the same title, which opened with great success in Paris in 1864.⁶⁶ It is, of course, important to note that *La Belle Hélène*, the first major sculpture of Colonna's early career, was also her first representation of an important mythological figure. Although Helen of Troy is an example of what Joseph Campbell called "the Hero's prize," she represents a figure from ancient Greek lore for whom the greatest war of antiquity was fought. Later in her career, Colonna would choose many female figures who embodied the characteristics of heroes and protectors. Most mythological stories and world religions contain a female character who fills the role of a supernatural helper, healer, cosmic mother, powerful goddess and protector. Colonna would explore these themes in the sculptures of her mature years.

In line with her interest in mythological themes, Colonna produced, in 1862, a wax bas-relief of the goddess Diana, mistress of the hunt, in repose, entitled *Diane endormie* (fig. 1-24).⁶⁷ She carried out this small relief in red wax on a wood base, and depicted the goddess asleep, legs crossed at the ankles and her left arm above her head. If it were not for the fact that the figure is lying down with her eyes closed, one would certainly think that this graceful figure is dancing. Again, her anatomical studies in Paris helped Colonna successfully produce this partially draped, half-nude figure, with perfectly curvaceous breasts, abdomen, and hips, the left side being more exposed than the right.

It is evident from letters between Adolphe Thiers, the original owner of the relief, and Adèle Colonna that the latter was somewhat unhappy with the work. Thiers had a close friendship with Colonna that would last throughout their lives, providing her with some political clout in her later years. Although the facts surrounding the sculpture are not completely clear, Colonna, deeming the sculpture unworthy of his collection, seems to have recalled the sculpture from Thiers at the end of 1862 to produce a more successful plaster version for him.⁶⁸

There is no known extant version of *Diane endormie* in plaster, however, and yet the red wax version is in the possession of the Fondation Marcello today, suggesting that

65. The suggestion that the work represented Pauline Bonaparte was noted in the museum guide; Jacob Hugentobler and Bruno Meyer, *Musée Napoléon, Château d'Arenenberg* (Frauenfeld: Huber et Cie, 1984), 9. Empress Eugénie and Napoléon III used the Château d'Arenenberg during the Second Empire as a summer residence. My thanks to Dominik Stephan Gügel and Christina Egli, director and conservator of the Napoleon Museum respectively, who allowed me to view and photograph the piece.

66. For a discussion of Marcello's interest in music and subjects from operas, see Chapter Four. This work is not included in that chapter because it predates the premiere of Offenbach's opera.

67. The words "Diane endormie" are written in the wax on the lower right, next to the figure's feet. This is not noted in the 1980 catalogues, but was evident when I saw the sculpture at the Fondation Marcello.

68. See Adèle Colonna (Marcello) to Adolphe Thiers, 15-18 December 1862, Archives FM. The letter is also catalogued in Henriette Bessis' unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, "Adolphe Thiers et la duchesse Colonna," (Paris: Sorbonne, 1972), as letter number 43, on page 138-9. "Je caressais l'idée que cette petite Diane finirait par vous plaire, et j'y mettais tous mes soins. Mais la personne qui voulait bien s'en charger jusqu'à Paris, m'ayant fait dire qu'elle passait plus tôt que je ne m'y attendais, force me fut d'abandonner l'espoir de la rendre parfaite, et de me borner à tâcher qu'elle fut présentable. La veille au soir il lui manquait les 2 bras et je passai toute la nuit, dix sept heures pour ce jour-là, et mes yeux en deviennent encore plus petits, à précipiter un travail qui eût mieux valu si je l'eusse achevé à loisir. Aussi vous demanderai-je de pouvoir l'achever à mon retour et en faire couler un exemplaire pour moi-même, je n'ai pensé qu'à vous. Mais je tenais à cette jeune nymphe destinée à vous rappeler une absente dont bien des neiges vous séparent, et qui n'en conserve pas moins le souvenir des heureux moments passés auprès. Mais je tenais à ce qu'elle me devançât auprès de vous, afin qu'elle remplit le seul but auquel je prétends pour elle, celui de vous rappeler une amitié qui n'a cessé de vous rejoindre par la pensée."

Thiers did send the sculpture back to the artist for reworking.⁶⁹ In January of 1863, M. Nicolây, a mutual friend of Thiers and Colonna, saw the work and admired it; Colonna's portrait of Nicolây eventually became one of her first Salon submissions.⁷⁰ Today *Diane endormie* is in very fragile condition at the Fondation Marcello.⁷¹ A related plaster bust from the period entitled *Diana* or *Dina* (1862, fig. 1-25) is also located in Givisiez. Although not previously suggested by other Marcello scholars, this may have been the plaster concept that Colonna produced for exchange with Thiers, based on the dating of the work, the medium and the related subject.

A plaster version of another early sculpture entitled *Bérénice*, produced during this period and conceived in marble the following year, is now located in a private collection in Paris. *Bérénice* seems to have been one of the first works for which Colonna hired a praticien, or professional marble carver, to assist with the fleshing out of the piece, a common practice among sculptors, male or female, throughout the century. Although the whereabouts of the marble is not currently known, one of Marcello's praticiens, a Swiss marble carver named Campi Ambrogio (or Ambrogio Campi in some texts), signed a receipt dated 1 November 1863 and charged Colonna 600 francs for his work on the marble.⁷²

Other sculptures from 1862 are not extant. On the basis of letters and other written evidence, it can be determined that among the missing sculptures created in 1862 are an *Enfant courant*, a *Bacchante*, a *Jonas*, *copié d'après Raphael* and a portrait of her friend Pauline Viardot (1821-1910) a successful and internationally known mezzo-soprano.

The Duchess Colonna had become a society figure in the early years of the decade. With her connections to Delacroix, Forget, Morisot, Riesener, Thiers, Viardot, and numerous other artists, performers, writers, musicians and political figures, her rise within high social circles was quickly realized. The Duchess' Italian title helped matters, and she found herself often invited to costume balls, parties, and salons in Paris during these years. Colonna was in regular attendance at the lavish salons held in Pauline Viardot's Paris apartment in the ninth arrondissement, which were also frequented by numerous celebrities from the world of contemporary art and music.⁷³ By 1863, she was in attendance at the Monday evening salons of the Empress.⁷⁴ Colonna's own salons and dinner parties were well known in Paris as well in the early 1860s. Clearly it was important to her career for her to become a society figure, not only to enhance her personal life but also to promote her work and to attract wealthy clients. Thus, she sur-

69. That is, if this was in fact the work that he owned.

70. Adèle Colonna (Marcello) to Louis-Adolphe Thiers, undated (circa end of January 1863), Archives FM. Catalogued in Bessis, 1972, as letter number 45, on page 144-5. "J'ai donc mes bonnes raisons pour m'être aussi attachée à vous, et d'autres non moins bonnes pour me fâcher parfois. Savez vous pourquoi j'ai mis une de mes filles chez vous, pour l'y aller voir de temps à autre; à ce propos, un de mes amis, celui qui vint avec nous au Louvre un jour, M. de N., me disait, en apprenant que cette petite Diane allait chez vous, je préfère vous voir sacrifier à l'empire du génie plutôt qu'au génie de l'Empire. Mais cela vous est bien égal."

71. Archives de Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg. "moissures, fentes, situation très délicate. À ne pas toucher?"

72. Receipt for services rendered from Campi Ambrogio [or Ambrogio Campi] to Adèle Colonna (Marcello), dated 1 November 1863, Archives FM.

73. See Margaret Shennan, *Berthe Morisot: The First Lady of Impressionism* (Thrupp: Sutton, 1996), 57.

74. Pierre Trahard, "Introduction," in Prosper Mérimée, *Lettres à la duchesse de Castiglione Colonna*, ed. Pierre Trahard (Paris: Boivin et Cie, 1938), 14.

rounded herself with prominent intellectuals and well-known contemporaries, many of whom would become the subjects of portrait busts that will be discussed later in the next chapter.

Always complimented on her beauty, she was comfortable with putting herself on view to the delight of others. However, putting her nascent artwork out on view and becoming a publicly-known figure, making her work and herself susceptible to criticism and possibly ridicule, was a huge risk. (These risks were even embedded in the French language; while *homme public* means “statesman,” *femme publique* is used to designate a prostitute.) The stakes were extremely high for women, who were discouraged on every level from seeking professional acceptance and taking themselves too seriously. By late 1862, Colonna decided that she would face the risks that came with fame, but not without a safety net, hence her pseudonym.

BECOMING MARCELLO: PSEUDONYMA

There has been no significant study of the use of pseudonyms (from the Greek *pseudo*, “false”, and *onyma*, “name”) by artists. Historically, writers have most notably adopted pseudonyms to protect their identity and allow for a greater freedom of expression and there is currently quite a bit of “who’s-who” literature available on writers. Allowing one to “exhibit different personae in relative anonymity and safety,” pseudonyms have been used often by women, people of color, and other groups in marginal positions within a given context.⁷⁵ Thus women, being a marginalized group within the context of nineteenth-century sculpture production, could benefit greatly from hiding their true identity. All of the names that Adèle Colonna thought about using as her pseudonym were male and Italian in origin.

It should not be assumed that only women used pseudonyms. Some major French male artists and writers used them, such as Molière (1622-1673, born Jean-Baptiste Poquelin) and Voltaire (1694-1778, born François-Marie Arouet), among countless others over the centuries. Even Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux used the pseudonym Ernest Blagny (the name of his friend) when he first submitted a sculpture to the Paris Salon of 1852.⁷⁶ If women could hide their true identity, even if only temporarily, they could theoretically avoid the gender obstacle and begin to make a name for themselves without the hassle of making excuses for their gender at the outset. If the attempt to succeed in a given profession fails, the pseudonym hides the person’s true identity, thus they are pro-

75. J. Michael Jaffe, Young-Eum Lee, Li-Ning Huang and Hayg Oshagan, “Gender Identification, Interdependence, and Pseudonyms in CMC: Language Patterns in an Electronic Conference,” in *The Information Society* 15:4 (1999): 221-34. In modern case studies of the use of pseudonyms, women who use them typically choose a name reflecting a different or neutral gender, while men often choose a same-gender name.

76. Anne M. Wagner, *Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux: Sculptor of the Second Empire* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1986), 273.

tected from ridicule. A woman's use of a pseudonym in the nineteenth century was an act of empowerment. Generally in the nineteenth-century art world, men chose another male name to protect their true identities in case of a public failure, while women often chose a male pseudonym to hide their gender from the public.

The use of pseudonyms reached its height during the nineteenth century, and was employed primarily by English and French female authors. In the 1840s, the Brontë sisters published a collection of poetry under the names Currer, Ellis and Acton Bell (for Charlotte (1816-1855), Emily (1816-1848) and Anne (1820-1849) respectively). Of course the single most famous and respected female writer of the entire century was George Sand (1804-1876), the pseudonym of Aurora Dupin. Colonna knew and admired Sand, who visited her studio in 1865 to see her sculpture *La Gorgone*.⁷⁷ Sand herself inspired a wave of pseudonyms, directly influencing Mary Anne Evans (a.k.a. George Eliot, 1819-1880, who chose "George" because of Sand), Colonna herself, and many others. One can surmise that many women artists and writers worked under pseudonyms, and did it so convincingly that many of them are lost to us today because of it. As we are often unable to trace them back to their true identities, they cannot be added to the lexicon of historical women.

For Colonna, the choice of a pseudonym originally helped to protect her identity as both a member of the aristocracy and a woman. According to the artist's first biographer, Odette d'Alcantara, "Adèle hesitated again to exhibit at the Salon. Her friends encouraged her, however, to break out from her solitude, to make herself known. But, for the young woman who bore the name of Colonna, this decision was fraught with consequences. Through this act she would take the rank of an artist and she would accept the struggle. Thus we see her preoccupied with choosing a pseudonym."⁷⁸ She also feared that if she were to be remarried or if she were confused with one of the other Colonnas, her identity would become problematic, confusing to the public and diminishing her importance. In letters to her friend Princess de Metternich, wife of the ambassador to Austria, she acknowledged that the comte de Nieuwerkerke, superintendent for fine arts, advised her against taking a pseudonym for reasons of social and class status. Colonna wrote: "Nieuwerkerke thinks that a pseudonym would make artists think that I disdain them and do not want to be like them."⁷⁹ But she was interested in the pseudonym for other reasons besides not wanting to tarnish her aristocratic title. She said that the pseudonym would be a "safeguard" and would allow her individuality to

77. Marcello knew Sand personally, whom she met through Alexandre Dumas Fils in 1864, and Sand made several visits to Marcello's studio, especially to see her *Gorgone*, a work that will be discussed presently. Sand's autograph is conserved at the Archives FM.

78. Alcantara, 60. "Adèle hésite encore à exposer au Salon. Ses amis l'encouragent cependant à sortir de sa solitude, à se faire connaître. Mais, pour la jeune femme qui porte le nom des Colonna, cette décision est lourde de conséquences. Par cet acte, elle prend rang d'artiste, elle accepte la lutte. Aussi la voyons-nous préoccupée par la choix d'un pseudonyme."

79. Adèle Colonna (Marcello) to her mother, the Countess Lucie d'Affry, dated 25 March 1863, Archives FM. "Si c'est un pseudonyme cela fera dire aux artistes dit Nieuwerkerke que je les dédaigne et ne veux pas faire comme eux."

be more pronounced.⁸⁰ She feared Nieuwerkerke's wrath, stating that "he will be furious, as will all the artists, if I do not have the courage to sign 'Duchess Colonna.'"⁸¹ She toyed with such names such Taddéo, Gian Battista, Fabrizio, Severino, and Marcello.⁸²

In the end, Affry's *carte d'exposant*, or exhibiting artist's identification card, carried the name Marcello and was signed and sealed by Nieuwerkerke himself. Hélène de Diesbach, one of Marcello's earliest biographers, noted in 1910 that the origin of the name stemmed from the world of music, as did Jean-Jacques Berthier in 1913 where he confirms that the artist chose the pseudonym after the eighteenth century Venetian composer Benedetto Marcello (1686-1739).⁸³ This fact is verified by Marcello's memoirs, where she stated that "I had chosen this art and war name out of the love for music."⁸⁴

Adèle Colonna's own desire to be treated as an equal is evidenced by her use of a pseudonym. Like many women artists of her day, Colonna often struggled with issues of equality among her male artist peers. The pseudonym "Marcello" hid her gender from the chauvinistic Salon Jury and allowed her work to be judged on merit and not on gender or reputation. It also revealed a facet of her personality, as the name Marcello was ultimately chosen because of her admiration for music in general and the composer Benedetto Marcello in particular.

Although Nieuwerkerke signed her card and surely knew that she had been thinking of using a pseudonym, whether he or any sculpture jury members of the Salon of 1863 immediately knew Marcello's true identity is doubtful. In any case, the pseudonym was not long a screen; early reviews of the Salon of 1863 already assumed that a female hand was connected to the works attributed to Marcello.

The pseudonym evoked her desire to attain parity with male artists, evidenced in part by the fact that she was interested only in cross-gender pseudonyms. Although she was not known to have been an activist for women's rights nor an outspoken feminist (she seems to have been a reformist like Georges Sand rather than an activist like Hélène Bertaux), simply adopting the male pseudonym seems to show that she was quite feminist-minded even by today's standards. Thus the pseudonym revealed a facet of her belief system (that men fare better than women in the art world) that otherwise may not have been evidenced simply by her actions. And like George Sand before her, the Duchess continued to use "Marcello" professionally even after her true identity was known, so

80. Adèle Colonna (Marcello) to her mother, the Countess Lucie d'Affry, dated 27 March 1863, Archives FM. "Bianca Capello continue à recevoir des ovations et moi à être aussi embarrassée que l'âne de Buridan entre le nom et le pseudonyme. Ce dernier me tente comme sauvegarde et individualité plus prononcée."

81. Adèle Colonna (Marcello) to her mother, the Countess Lucie d'Affry, dated 27 March 1863, Archives FM. "Il sera furieux ainsi que tous les artistes si je n'ai pas le courage de signer Duchesse Colonna."

82. These names are suggested in the letter from Adèle Colonna (Marcello) to her mother, the Countess Lucie d'Affry, dated 27 March 1863, Archives FM. "Je suis fort agitée et ne trouve pas [un] pseudonyme, que Taddeo, Gian Battista, Fabrizio, ou Marcello, ou encore Severino."

83. Hélène de Diesbach, "La Duchesse Colonna, Marcello," in *La Femme suisse, un livre de famille*, Gertrude Villiger-Keller, ed., (Neuchâtel: F. Zahn, 1910), 252. "Le public éprouvait déjà pour les ouvrages signés du nom d'un compositeur italien, Marcello, appelé en son temps le prince de la musique." See also Jean-Jacques Berthier, "La Duchesse Colonna d'Affry," in *Fribourg artistique*, à travers les âges, Section XIII (1913) n.p.

84. Berthier, (1913), n.p. See also Adèle Colonna (Marcello), *Mémoires*, "Paris, 31" [original manuscript], 66 [typewritten copy]. Benedetto Marcello also used a pseudonym, Driante Sacreo, during his career.

that her message of desiring equality was certainly never truly lost on her public. The pseudonym obviously still meant something to her even after its original function was lost. Women artists of the nineteenth century were quite aware of their unequal status and often expressed their dissatisfaction with the status quo. Marcello's great friend Berthe Morisot stated most tellingly, "I don't think there has been a man who treated a woman as an equal, and that's all I would have asked for, for I know I'm worth as much as they."⁸⁵ In many cases, a pseudonym could help to level the playing field.

Cécile d'Affry, the Baronness d'Ottenfels, noted in 1905 that when her sister was asked which name she preferred, she was known to have said "that which one makes for one's self."⁸⁶ That is to say, Adèle Colonna, in her professional life, preferred neither her illustrious family name into which she was born, nor the title that she gained through marriage, but the name she earned with her own work: Marcello.

SYNOPSIS OF MATURE CAREER AND DEATH OF MARCELLO, 1863-1877

In 1863 Adèle Colonna's career began in Paris. She discovered her first taste of success at the Paris Salon exhibition with three busts she submitted under her newly adopted pseudonym. These submissions included a marble bust of the Renaissance-era Grand Duchess of Tuscany, Bianca Capello; a marble portrait head of M. Gaston de Nicolaÿ; and a wax portrait head of the Duchess San Cesario. Although the portraits fared well critically, it was the bust of Bianca Capello that brought Marcello into professional acclaim. The critical reception of *Bianca Capello* will be discussed herein, as the work is the premier example of Marcello's investigation into heroic images of women. It should be noted here that *Bianca Capello* became her most famous work and marked her beginning as a professional sculptor.

Much of Marcello's professional life was spent traveling. She made frequent trips to Italy, visiting Genoa, Milan, Verona, Florence, and Rome, among other Italian cities. While in Rome during the late 1860s, she met a number of important artists working and studying at the French Academy in Rome at the Villa Médicis. The directors of the academy, in particular Ernest Hébert (1817-1908), often showed her kindness and permitted her access to the Villa that most other women artists at the time were never afforded. She began to collect works of art by artists whom she befriended and admired during her travels. In addition to her art purchases, she also bought furniture, rare books,

85. Morisot is quoted in Russell T. Clement, Annick Houzé and Christiane Eerbolato-Ramsey, *The Women Impressionists: A Sourcebook* (Westport, CT and London: Greenwood Press, 2000), ix.

86. Baroness d'Offenfels [Cécile d'Affry], "L'Artiste," in Camille Roy, *Souvenirs du Musée Marcello, Fribourg en Suisse* (Fribourg: Imprimerie Saint-Paul, 1905), 24. "Interrogée un jour sur le nom qu'elle préférerait, la Duchesse Colonna répondit: 'Celui qu'on se fait soi-même.' Sa vie a confirmé cette parole."

tapestries and other objects, a large portion of which would later be given to her birthplace of Fribourg in Switzerland at her death.

Her travels to Spain were also of great importance to her continued development as an artist. The lure of Spain was strong for almost all artists working in France at mid-century, and Marcello was not an exception. She copied numerous works at the Prado Museum in Madrid and befriended important Spanish artists such as Mariano Fortuny y Marsal (1838-1874), whose style was particularly influential to her drawings and watercolors of the later 1860s. Unfortunately, although Marcello traveled through Spain with Henri Regnault (1843-1871) and Georges Clairin (1843-1919) and produced both copies and original works of art alongside them, she is often left out of discussions of their sphere of influence. Marcello was not included among the artists featured in the important exhibition and catalogue *Manet/Velázquez: The French Taste for Spanish Painting* (Musée d'Orsay, 2002; Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2003), an egregious error because she had visited the same museums, had made the same copies, and was known among her contemporaries in Spain during the period covered in the exhibition. Both Spanish old master artists and her Spanish contemporaries greatly influenced her sculpture as well as her graphic and painted work.

By the 1870s, Marcello had gained significant recognition in artistic and intellectual circles. Her Pythian Sybil, known as the *Pythia*, was exhibited to great success in the Salon of 1870. It was purchased soon afterward for the Paris Opéra Garnier. By 1873, the musée du Luxembourg had obtained two of her sculptures (*Bianca Capello* and the *Abyssinian Chieftain*) and placed them on public view. She was in fact the only female sculptor to have works displayed in the Luxembourg at the end of the century. Her gender alone prevented her from receiving medals at the Paris Salons, but she was awarded two medals at the 1873 Universal Exhibition in Vienna. Finally, while under pressure from the critics, the Salon jury of 1876 awarded Marcello a fourth-class medal for her portrait of her cousin, the Baronness de Keffenbrinck.

Marcello spent her final months in the town of Castellammare di Stabia, a small seaside town on the Bay of Naples with her domestic François Butty. Having finalized her will in 1877 and having designed her tomb sometime earlier, she tried to relax and find comfort in the warm, dry climate of Italy, which eased the symptoms of tuberculosis.

Marcello had not exhibited at the Paris Salon since 1876, and by 1879, critics noted that she was sorely missed. In a Salon review published in the *Journal de Saint-Petersbourg* on 19 June 1879, a critic writing under the initials M.R. wondered what she was working on and when the public would see her works again:

*Monsieur Fallsted shows us, under the guise of an Arabian chieftain, an African bust that recalls, in its arrangement, the 1876 [sic] entry by Marcello. What memories, what valiance, what dreams of glory, what disastrous premonitions, what attraction, what regret this name evokes in us! Why was she snatched so early from the struggles, from art competitions, from the love of her friends? Marcello, will you return to us? Will you hear this distant call, or does it come, like a broken wave, to die on the banks of Italy, where, languishing, you ask for a comforting rest? The year 1880 will tell us. Perhaps you are working on some long-term project, these are the best. Time is a reliable counsellor and assistant. Those who say the contrary are mistaken or deceive others.*⁸⁷

87. M.R., "Salon. Exposition de sculpture de 1879 à Paris VI (1)," *Journal de St-Petersbourg* (19 June 1879): 1. "M. Fallsted nous montre sous le costume d'un chef arabe un buste africain qui rappelle par son arrangement l'envoi de 1876 de Marcello. Que de souvenirs, que de vaillance, de rêves de gloire, de pressentiments funestes, quel attrait, quel regret ce nom évoque en nous! Pourquoi si tôt arraché aux luttes, aux compétitions de l'art, à la sympathie de ses amis? Marcello, nous reviendrez vous? Entendrez-vous cet appel lointain, ou viendra-t-il, comme un flot qui se brise, mourir sur la rive d'Italie, où, languissante, vous demandez un apaisement au repos? L'année 1880 nous le dira. Peut-être travaillez-vous à quelque œuvre de longue durée, ce sont les meilleures. Les temps est un conseiller et un auxiliaire sûr. Ceux qui disent le contraire se trompent ou trompent les autres." Marcello did not exhibit her *Abyssinian Chieftain* in the Salon of 1876; it was exhibited in the Salon of 1870 and the Universal Exposition of 1873 in Vienna. Marcello's copy of this edition of the *Journal de St-Petersbourg* is conserved at the Archives FM and is marked "arrivé après la mort d'Adèle," with postmarks and return address labels conserved on the copy.

88. "Nécrologie," *Gazette de France* (25 July 1879): 3. "Tous étaient attirés par la grâce de son accueil et rendaient hommage au charme de son esprit si cultivé, si vif et primesautier. Comment n'ajouterions-nous pas que parmi toutes ses qualités, la plus précieuse était son inépuisable charité qui, unie à une foi profonde, la rendait la Providence des malheureux et lui a obtenu la grâce suprême d'une mort admirablement chrétienne et résignée."

The critic's distant call died along with Marcello herself. Her own copy of the *Journal de Saint-Petersbourg* was misdelivered to Fribourg, and then forwarded to her Castellammare address; it arrived after her death. When she finally succumbed on 16 July 1879, only her mother, sister, and her works survived her.

Since Marcello died in Italy, it took some time for news of her death to reach France and Switzerland. The earliest reports of her death appeared on 22 July in *Corriere del mattino* (published in Naples) and on 23 July in *Le Figaro*. A few days later, on 25 July, *Gazette de France* published an obituary reminding the public less of Marcello's work than of her charms:

*All were attracted by her welcoming grace and rendered homage to the charm of her mind, so cultivated, so lively, so spontaneous. How can we not add that, among all of her qualities, the most precious was her inexhaustible kindness which, united with a profound faith, gave her the gift of the unfortunate by obtaining for her the supreme grace of a death admirably Christian and resigned.*⁸⁸

On the same day, Ernest Fillonneau, Marcello's most supportive critic, lamented her death in *Le Moniteur des arts*. His tribute to her was much more serious than that found

in *Gazette de France*, as he focused on the professional obstacles she faced throughout her career:

We who knew the Duchess Colonna for a long time, we who were often witness to her works, we can attest to all that her elevated nature had suffered of the prejudices of the world and the petty jealousies which have attacked her until her last exhibition. She had, within the jury, only one admirer, one unique defender, the poor Carpeaux, who understood all of the passionate and original talent of Marcello. The votes of independent artists and the admiration of men of high taste, with M. Thiers at the forefront, were of course appreciated by the Duchess Colonna, but she strongly desired to be rewarded for her efforts, and more that once it was instead discouragement that she felt. But her love of art and the affection of her friends soon helped her to overcome a moment of weakness, and she bravely prepared a new work for the following Salon.⁸⁹

On 5 August, more than two weeks after her death, the Fribourg broadside *La Liberté* published a long obituary on their native daughter. The author, Dubosc de Pesquidoux, reminded readers of her illustrious background and list of successful works, and concluded with an assessment of her character. It is worth quoting the conclusion at length, as it was the obituary published by the leading newspaper in the town of her birth:

Great woman, artist, woman of letters, witty and attractive, the Duchess Colonna had all of the gifts which attract a court around a feminine personality. During the second half of the Empire, she was one of the Parisian figures most in the public eye. Her birth and her name placed her on a par with the leading aristocrats: her intelligence, her talent, gave her entrance into the Olympia of celebrities. Marcello's studio, situated on the Cours-la-Reine, welcomed all the illustrious figures: Berryer and Thiers went there frequently: both found great charm in the company of the patrician sculptor. Among her eminent colleagues, Delacroix, Carpeaux, liked to receive or give advice at this artistic retreat where a creative inspiration arose; and one remembers that at the funeral of the great painter [Delacroix] the Duchess wanted to publicly demonstrate her admiration by placing a golden laurel on his coffin.

Marcello is dead, at the age of forty-two [sic], under this Italian sky, whose brilliance responded to the aspirations of her soul and invigorated her last days: she is dead

89. Ernest Fillonneau, "Chronique," *Moniteur des arts* (25 July 1879): 1. "Nous qui avons connu de longue date la duchesse Colonna, qui étions souvent le témoin de ses travaux, nous pouvons dire tout ce que cette nature d'élite a souffert des préjugés du monde et des jalousies mesquines qui l'ont assaillie jusqu'à sa dernière exposition. Elle n'a eu, au sein du jury, qu'un seul admirateur, un unique défenseur, ce fut ce pauvre Carpeaux, qui comprenait tout ce que le talent de Marcello avait de passionné et d'original. Les suffrages des artistes indépendants et l'admiration des hommes de goût, M. Thiers en tête, étaient certes appréciés par la duchesse Colonna, mais elle ambitionnait naturellement la récompense due à ses efforts, et plus d'une fois le découragement la saisit. Mais l'amour de son art et l'affection des ses amis la faisaient bientôt triompher d'un instant de défaillance, et elle préparait bravement une œuvre nouvelle pour le Salon suivant."

having given the full measure of her talent and the quota of her works. After having held a distinguished rank, as a woman, in society for the last fifteen years, Marcello left a name and a mark, as a sculptor, in the art of our epoch.⁹⁰

90. Dubosc de Pesquidoux, "Canton de Fribourg: La duchesse Colonna," *La Liberté* (5 August 1879): 2. "Grande dame, artiste, lettrée, spirituelle et pourvue d'agréments extérieurs, la duchesse Colonna avait tous les dons qui attirent une cour autour d'une personnalité féminine. Durant la seconde moitié de l'Empire, elle fut une des figures parisiennes les plus en vue. Sa naissance et son nom la mettaient de pair avec les sommités aristocratique[s]: son esprit, son talent lui donnaient une entrée dans l'Olympe des célébrités. L'atelier de Marcello, situé au Cours-la-Reine, accueillait toutes les illustrations. Berryer et Thiers y venaient fréquemment: tous les deux trouvaient un grand charme dans la compagnie de la patricienne statuaire. Des confrères éminents, Delacroix, Carpeaux, aimaient à recevoir ou donner des conseils dans cette retraite artistique où passait un souffle fécond; et l'on se souvient qu'aux funérailles du grand peintre, la duchesse voulut témoigner publiquement son admiration en déposant sur le cercueil un laurier d'or. Marcello est mort, à quarante deux ans, sous ce ciel italien dont l'éclat répondait aux aspirations de son âme et vivifia ses derniers jours: il est mort avant de donner la mesure de son talent et le contingent de son œuvre. Après avoir tenu un rang distingué, comme femme, dans le mouvement mondain des quinze dernières années, Marcello laissera un nom et une trace, comme sculpteur, dans l'art de notre époque."

91. Adèle Colonna (Marcello), *Mémoires*, loose final sheet, unpaginated, dated 13 July 1879. "Je vis que mon effort serait toujours isolé, partout faible." This sheet is not included in the typewritten copy of the manuscript.

92. Adèle Colonna (Marcello), *Mémoires*, loose final sheet, unpaginated, dated 13 July 1879. "À Paris les moyens de la lutte devaient être formidable, fortune, presse, grand train, relations intelligentes poursuivies dans ce but [. . .] Je vis donc mes efforts paralysé[s] d'avance le dernier élève de l'école de Rome devenant plus célèbre que moi, quel découragement et quelle tristesse!"

93. Virginia Woolf, *A Room of One's Own* (New York: Harcourt Brace and Co., 1989 [1929]), 8. Woolf was told that "ladies are only admitted to the library if accompanied by a Fellow of the College or furnished with a letter of introduction."

94. Adèle Colonna (Marcello), *Mémoires*, loose final sheet, unpaginated, dated 13 July 1879. "[Des] blessés consolera peut-être celle que goûte tout d'autres beaux génies, Dante, Michel-Ange, et les admirables profonds que leurs œuvres font entrevoir."

One wonders whether Marcello would have agreed with Pesquidoux's assessment of her success and influence. Three days before her death, she dictated a text to her domestic that was later filed with the portfolio containing her memoirs. Frightened and seeing the end nearing, she resentfully recounted what she saw as her obstacles and failures, noting in the first line that she "saw that my efforts would always be isolated, everywhere weak."⁹¹ The bitter realization of the sexist field in which she worked became clear in those final moments:

*In Paris the means of the struggle became formidable, fortune, the press, a grand life-style, intelligent relationships were pursued towards this goal [of being an artist]. I thus saw my efforts paralyzed in having the worst student at the School of Rome become more celebrated than me, what discouragement and what sadness!*⁹²

In this text, it is evident that Marcello had experienced the horrible realization that her life was being cut short, that she would never realize all the projects that she had hoped to produce, and that her gender caused her to achieve fewer successes than her male counterparts of lesser talent. This seems parallel to Virginia Woolf's own consternation in her 1929 essay *A Room of One's Own*, in which an uneducated working class boy is afforded privileges that Woolf herself is denied.⁹³ Marcello soothed herself in her final lines of the text, the last words about herself and her career that she recorded: "Those who are wounded will be consoled perhaps by those who had a taste in life for all the other beautiful geniuses, Dante, Michelangelo, and the admirable depths from which all of their works are glimpsed."⁹⁴

Although her life began in the aristocratic surroundings of an illustrious Swiss family, by the age of twenty-seven Colonna had become Marcello, a serious, professional sculptor. Her title, gained through her brief marriage, allowed her to frequent the salons of the most influential people in Europe. She then began to craft her career, promoting her works, building a client base and choosing a pseudonym. A small body of early work beginning in 1857 arrived at a mature level in 1863 with *Bianca Capello*, her first critical and public success, to be discussed in Chapter Three. After Marcello

spent many years developing as an independent artist and society figure, the success of *Bianca Capello* would mark a new phase in her career. Her extensive travels within Europe helped to secure important connections and to fuel ideas for sculptures. As her health began to fail, she turned more and more to the exploration of painting, which was less physically taxing.

In the next chapter, Marcello's portraits of her family, friends, and contemporaries will be discussed. She rarely made portraits on commission but instead would personally select the subjects to be depicted. Between 1863 and 1876, Marcello created a number of successful portraits, and some of her models were among the most illustrious figures of the period. Such portraits, representing some of the most influential people in her life, made during the height of her development, will be discussed in the subsequent section.



Fig. 2-1. Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux. *Marcello Modeling Clay and Study of a Male Back*. 1864. Graphite drawing. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg, Switzerland [d 210].

CHAPTER TWO

MARCELLO'S PORTRAITS OF FAMILY, FRIENDS AND CONTEMPORARIES

*"Every portrait that is [created] with feeling is a portrait of the artist,
not of the sitter."*

Oscar Wilde, 1891, *The Picture of Dorian Gray*

The genre of portraiture in the fine arts faced significant changes at mid-century. The catalyst for this was the invention of photography in the early 1820s in France (introduced publicly in 1839) by Nicéphore Niépce (1765-1833) and Louis-Jacques Mandé Daguerre (1787-1851). The primary subject matter of early photography (as, to some degree, in sculpture) was portraiture. In fact, these two media, photography and sculpture, can be considered sister arts not only because of their shared subject matter but also because of the technical qualities that they shared: both were dependent upon machines and industrial technology to assist in their production, and both were the media of multiples, aimed at a general art-buying public.

The popularity of portrait photography forced painters and sculptors to reconsider the portrait format. It was somewhat easier for painters to readjust the format of their portraits than it was for sculptors. Painting was capable of providing things that photography could not, such as imaginative backgrounds and settings, color, large-scale formats, and the unique, unscientific touch of an artist's own facture. To this, Linda Nochlin would add that "in 1875, photography would have been incapable of encapsulating the bold movement, wide angle, and 'stop action' effect inscribed in [for example, Degas's group portrait entitled] *Place de la Concorde*."¹

Additionally, Edouard Manet and the Impressionists, for example, had eventually mastered the conflation of portraiture and genre – that is, scenes of everyday life – something that was less often attempted in photography. Indeed, as Edmund Duranty explained in his 1876 essay *La Nouvelle Peinture* (*The New Painting*), backgrounds in painting could add a contextual setting and created a more realistic image than could photography:

As we are solidly embracing nature, we will no longer separate the figure from the background of an apartment or the street. In actuality, a person never appears against

1. Linda Nochlin, "Impressionist Portraits and the Construction of Modern Identity," in *Renoir's Portraits: Impressions of an Age*, exh. cat., ed. Colin B. Bailey (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997), 54.

*neutral or vague background. [...] When at rest, he will not be merely pausing or striking a meaningless pose before the photographer's lens. This moment will be a part of his life as are his actions.*²

Given the nature of sculpture, it was as difficult for sculptors to break free from the creation of stiffly posed subjects with a neutral (or non-existent) background, to which it was impossible to add a genre context (trees, grass, interior context and/or other objects external to the subject). Although color and polychromy returned to play an important role in sculpture by 1848, the medium still lacked much that photographers and painters could provide. Thus, sculptors struggled to compete with both the painted portrait and the popular photograph.

The rise of photography also caused the decline of commissioned portraits from traditional artists. As photography became more advanced and more easily and cheaply reproducible, it became immensely difficult for sculptors to compete against the price and portability offered by the photographic medium. Portraiture survived in sculpture because there was still the possibility of receiving a government commission for a public portrait and because artists were often willing to produce portraits without a commission, particularly of their family and friends. According to Joanna Woodall's introduction to *Portraiture: Facing the Subject* (1997), the movement towards the non-commissioned image was a mark of the avant-garde:

*Portraits depicting the friends and family of the artist had existed since at least the fifteenth century, but in the late nineteenth century 'avant garde' portraiture was markedly confined to uncommissioned images of these categories of sitter. This enhanced the authority of the artist by making worthiness to be portrayed dependent upon one's relationship to him or her.*³

So it was within this context of the decline of portraiture that Marcello's sculpted portraits were produced. Very few of her portrait works were commissioned. Of her twenty-five known sculpted portraits, her only major government-commissioned portrait was for that of the Empress Eugénie. For this chapter, six portraits have been chosen for discussion. They include the portrait busts of her mother, the Countess d'Affry (completed 1864); the Empress Eugénie of France (1866); Sissi, the Empress of Austria and Queen of Hungary (1867); the Spanish general Llorenç Milans del Bosch I Mauri

2. Edmund Duranty, "The New Painting; Concerning the Group of Artists Exhibiting at the Durand-Ruel Galleries," in *The New Painting: Impressionism, 1874-1886*, exh. cat., ed. Charles S. Moffat (San Francisco: The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 1986), 44-45.

3. Joanna Woodall, ed. "Introduction: Facing the Subject," in *Portraiture: Facing the Subject* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 7.

(1868); Adolphe Thiers (1872); and Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux (1875). Since Marcello did not favor one gender over the other in her portraiture (thirteen of the known portraits are of women, twelve are of men), an even number of male and female portraits have been selected for discussion.

PORTRAIT OF THE COUNTESS D’AFFRY (1816-1897)

As in the case of many young artists, Marcello’s earliest portraits were studies of family members. Such subjects did not require a commission and were usually people to whom the artist had exclusive, and often frequent, access. As a case in point, Marcello’s closeness with her mother, the Countess d’Affry, resulted in a sensitive and compelling portrait. In January 1864, the artist invited Carpeaux to her home in Givisiez for a short vacation in what was then considered *la campagne fribourgeoise*. There, he produced some sketches of her (fig. 2-1) and her mother (fig. 2-2), which remain at the Fondation Marcello. As she would often do during her career, Marcello shared the opportunity to a model a work in the company of a colleague or colleagues (see below with regard to the bust of Bosch and the artists Georges Clairin and Henri Regnault). Her own portrait of her mother, most likely sketched alongside Carpeaux, exists today in a plaster version pointed for transfer and a finished marble (fig. 2-3); the bust is an example of how she attempted to depict elegance through simplicity, giving a nod to Winckelmann’s mantra of “noble simplicity and quiet grandeur” so popular during the Neo-classical period.

In Marcello’s portrait of her mother, the Countess d’Affry is shown without any jewelry or exterior adornment, save for a simple leafy flower between her breasts. The simplified garment is classicized and is decorated only with a thin lace band that falls on either side of the neckline. Her heavy hair is strictly parted in the center and is pinned back across and behind the ears, resembling the coiffure she favored in life. The bust seems to reveal both the austerity and traditional nature of the Countess and the soft, motherly character that is so evident in her letters to her daughter.

Marcello also produced, in 1864, an ink drawing of her mother with the Latin title *Mater Amabilis* (fig. 2-4) or “Mother most lovable,” conserved at the Fondation Marcello. Looking away from the viewer, the Countess d’Affry is posed in this drawing as if she were a queen seated on a throne, her head crowned with a wreath of laurel leaves. The drawing by Carpeaux, conversely, shows the Countess with heavily-lidded eyes (in fact she looks almost as if she is nodding off to sleep) wearing a black kerchief on her head, rather than



Fig. 2-2. Carpeaux. *Portrait of the Countess Lucie d’Affry*. 1864. Charcoal drawing. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.



Fig. 2-4. Marcello. *Mater Amabilis*. 1864. Ink on paper.
Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.



Fig. 2-3. Marcello. *Portrait of the Countess Lucie d'Affry*
(*The Artist's Mother*).
1864. Marble. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg [S 29].



Fig. 2-5.
 Marcello and Elisa de Boccard. Panels for the *Salon Chinois*. 1875.
 Oil on canvas.
 Château d'Affry, Fribourg. Photograph by the author.

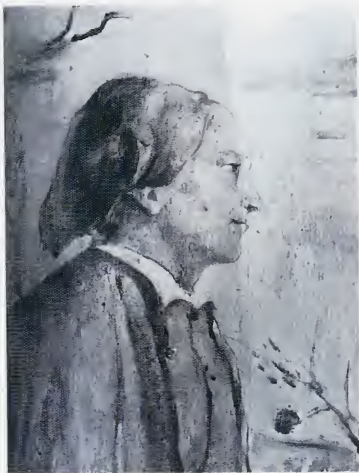


Fig. 2-6. Marcello. Details of leftmost panel, bottom left, for the *Salon Chinois*. 1875. Oil on canvas. Château d'Affry, Fribourg.

the “crown” that her daughter had depicted. An additional portrait by Marcello of her mother, in a painted version, is found in the *Salon chinois* at the Château d'Affry (figs. 2-5 and 2-6). Painted more than ten years after the sculpted bust, the panel depicts her mother as a driving and reassuring force and as, still, the central person in her life.

The Countess d'Affry played an influential role in her daughter's career. Time and again Marcello sought her mother's advice and approval, and it seems clear, somewhat sadly of course, that the Countess favored her daughter Ada (her nickname for Adèle) over her other daughter Cécile, who lived a more “normal” life than her sister as a diplomat's wife with her own child. Marcello's relationship with her mother was very strong, and the two confided in each other not only in person but in over two hundred extant letters spanning almost two decades. After her daughter's death in 1879, the Countess d'Affry, who outlived her by almost twenty years, tried to donate many of her works to public collections in France. Despite being successful in Switzerland, persuading, for example, the Kunstmuseum in Bern to accept some works, the Countess was not as successful in convincing the Musée du Louvre to do the same. She devoted much of her later life to directing the establishment of the Musée Marcello that her daughter planned in her will.⁴

MARCELLO'S IMAGES OF SOVEREIGNTY: PORTRAITS OF THE EMPRESS EUGÉNIE

As Marcello became professionally well-known and successful, a wealthy and powerful clientele desired works from her studio. She began to move away from the exclusive creation of portraits of family members and began to choose contemporaries as subjects for her works, and some of these people requested she depict them. While continuing to find success at the Paris Salon exhibitions with such works as her *Gorgone* of 1865, Marcello gained appreciation and acceptance within the court of Napoléon III. This obviously provided her with new opportunities, but was not without its pitfalls. Yet, imperial commissions were often financial and professional disasters for those who received them, even if they sometimes briefly provided the artist with public and official recognition. Obtaining a commission from the French government and having it reach fruition as originally planned was not always a certainty during the Second Empire.

4. See Caterina Y. Pierre, “The rise and fall of the Musée Marcello,” *Journal of the History of Collections* 18:2 (2006): 211-223.

More than two decades ago, *Art History* published a significant article by Anne Middleton Wagner entitled “Art and Property: Carpeaux's Portraits of the Prince Impérial,”

which later became part of her significant book on the sculptor.⁵ Wagner's text clearly described an imperial commission gone awry. Among other issues, her study described the nature of obtaining a government commission, the difficulties it specifically posed for sculptors, and the financial perils it could cause. Wagner's arguments have been oversimplified here, but the point remains that her research opened up an avenue of inquiry regarding imperial commissions for portrait sculptures and their markets.

Carpeaux, however, was not the only sculptor at the time to face obstacles and eventual failure when dealing with the major patron of the Second Empire, the French government. Marcello would later encounter similar difficulties when she was awarded a government commission to sculpt a portrait bust of the Empress Eugénie. Existing in multiple versions and media (as do Carpeaux's portraits of the Prince Impérial), Marcello's marbles of the Empress were not all successful; only one marble of the group eventually found its way into a state-funded museum, but not the place originally intended for it as specified in the commission agreement. Marcello's problems with her commission for a portrait of a member of the imperial family were as equally stressful and costly as those met by Carpeaux at almost exactly the same time. Her difficulties were multiplied because she was paid less for her work and she felt that she was treated unfairly because the administration was biased against women artists. Additionally, misunderstandings about Carpeaux's sculptures and Marcello's works still abound. In fact, the connections and mutual friendships between the two were so close that – stylistic differences notwithstanding – their works and commissions are often confused.⁶

Marcello's busts of the Empress are significant because they illustrate her emphasis on images of influential, and in some cases powerful, women, whom she endowed with strong characteristics or compelling expressions. The busts of the Empress exemplified Marcello's ideas of how regal women should be portrayed, and the artist considered the government's refusal to accept the definitive piece as she designed it as a personal attack.

Marcello had been in contact with the Imperial Court since April of 1862, when she sent a bronze version of her *La Belle Hélène* to the Emperor and Empress. Letters thanking the artist for the bronze from both Napoléon III and Eugénie are conserved at the Fondation Marcello in Fribourg, with the Emperor's letter dated 28 April 1862.⁷ The Empress complimented the artist on her works in 1863, as noted in a letter written

5. Anne Middleton Wagner, "Art and Property: Carpeaux's Portraits of the Prince Impérial," *Art History* (December 1982): 447-71 and *Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux: Sculptor of the Second Empire* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1986), especially Chapter Five, "Art and Property," 175-207.

6. For example, at the Napoleon Museum in Salenstein (Switzerland), upon finding Marcello's *la Belle Hélène* in Queen Hortense's library, I was told that the work may have been an early work by a young Carpeaux. This error has since been corrected.

7. Letter from Napoléon III to Adèle Colonna (Marcello), dated "Tuileries, 28 April 1862," Archives FM. The letter reads in part, "Je regrette seulement de ne pas pouvoir, comme vous, offrir un ouvrage." [I regret only that I do not have the power, as you do, to offer a work of art.] Anecdotaly, conserved with these documents is a dried rose in an envelope marked "Rose, était donnée par l'Impératrice, 4 mai 1863." ("Rose given by the Empress, 4 May 1863.") See also Chapter One of this text.



Fig. 2-7. Le Jeune. *Empress Eugénie of France*.
Circa 1867. Photograph.
Collection of the author.



Fig. 2-8. Marcello. *Bust of the Empress Eugénie*.
1865-66. Plaster.
Fondation Marcello, Fribourg [S 72].

by Eugène Delacroix to his assistant Pierre Andrieu.⁸ Invited to imperial *séries* at Fontainebleau (in 1863) and at the château of Compiègne, Marcello was in attendance at the same *série* as Carpeaux in November of 1864. She was also in attendance at the Empress's social salons on Monday evenings.⁹ In her memoirs, Marcello recounted the first time she was approached by the Empress, at a special viewing of paintings at the imperial palace:

I found myself with the Princess de Metternich in one of the painting rooms when a group of women came in, the Empress with three or four other attendants. The rooms being vast and reserved that day for an elite public, it was easy for us after having greeted them to pass into the neighboring room. But the Princess de Metternich was approached by the sovereign, who wanted to make sure that it was in fact this Marcello still a bit mysterious, who had fled from her, and I saw myself approached by one of the women of the palace, Madame de Rayneval [,] who said that she was charged with transmitting to me the compliments of the Empress, as well as the desire that she had to express them to me herself. How could I respond, apart from following the maid of honor and the Princess de Metternich sent to the rescue, and I received some gracious praises, from a charming mouth, with a look that seemed to search for friendship. I was seduced, I must say it.¹⁰

She and the Empress became fast friends, and that same November the sovereign made Marcello a gift of a piece of Sèvres biscuit porcelain (thought to have been a small bust of Marie-Antoinette). The two women were in contact with each other even after the Empire fell in 1870. When Napoléon III died in 1873 Marcello wrote in her journal, "I feel as if a great part of my own heart was buried."¹¹ In turn, when Marcello died six years later, Eugénie sent a telegram to her mother expressing sincere condolences.

Carpeaux was not the only artist at the imperial *fête* trying to obtain connections, patrons and commissions; Marcello was also seeking to make a portrait of someone in the imperial family, and she seems to have received the commission for the bust directly from the Empress (fig. 2-7). Never before had Marcello worked as hard on a portrait bust as she had on that of Eugénie. The project developed into five very different sculptures, including a full bust (fig. 2-8), a head and neck in wax (fig. 2-9), a head and neck in plaster (fig. 2-10), and two very different finished marble busts (figs. 2-11 and 2-13). Although she would garner at least four other orders for sculpture from the French gov-

8. Eugène Delacroix to Pierre Andrieu, 21 May 1863, as published in *Eugène Delacroix: Correspondance générale de Eugène Delacroix*, Five vols. (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1936-1938), 373-74. "J'ai vu la duchesse deux ou trois fois avec beaucoup de plaisir: je crois qu'elle vous regrette beaucoup et voudrait s'occuper de peinture. J'entends dire qu'elle a beaucoup de succès pour ses bustes, dont l'impératrice lui a fait de très grands compliments: je pense qu'elle doit être satisfaite."

9. See Pierre Trahard's Introduction in Prosper Mérimée, *Lettres à la Duchesse de Castiglione Colonna*, Pierre Trahard, ed. (Paris: Boivin et Cie, 1938), 14. After Marcello's success in 1863, "Celle-ci l'invite à ses [the Empress's] lundis, et la duchesse reçoit aux Tuileries un si cordial accueil qu'une sincère amitié s'établit entre elle et l'Impératrice."

10. Adèle Colonna (Marcello), personal memoirs, unfinished and unpublished (known as *Mémoires d'Adèle d'Affry*), c. late 1870s, Archives FM, "Paris, 19," [pagination on original manuscript], 58 [typewritten copy]. "Je me trouvais avec la princesse de Metternich dans une des salles de peinture lorsqu'un groupe féminin y fit irruption, l'Impératrice avec 3 ou 4 personnes de son service. Les salles étant fort vastes et réservées ce jour là à un public d'élite, il nous fut facile après avoir salué de passer dans la pièce voisine. Mais la princesse de Metternich s'était approchée de la souveraine qui s'assura que c'était bien cette Marcello encore un peu mystérieuse qui avait fui devant elle, et je me vis aborder par l'une des dames du palais, Madame de Rayneval qui se dit chargée de me transmettre les compliments de l'Impératrice, ainsi que le désir qu'elle avait de me les adresser elle-même. Que répondre, sinon suivre la dame d'honneur et la princesse de Metternich envoyée à la rescousse, et recevoir de gracieux éloges, d'une charmante bouche, avec un regard qui semblait chercher l'amitié. J'étais séduite, il faut le dire." 4 May 1863."

11. Adèle Colonna (Marcello), personal diary sheets, (known as the *Carnets Intimes*), c. 10 January 1873, Archives FM. "J'apprends la mort de l'Empereur! [...] Personnellement, ce que j'éprouve est comme si une grande partie de mon cœur était enterrée."



Fig. 2-10. Marcello. *Empress Eugénie*. 1866. Plaster
pointed for transfer.
Fondation Marcello, Fribourg [S 70].



Fig. 2-9. Marcello. *Head Study for a Portrait of the
Empress Eugénie*. 1866. Wax.
Fondation Marcello, Fribourg [S 75].
Photo: Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource,
NY.

ernment during her career, her commission for the bust of Eugenie was the first direct commission, and the only one for a specific imperial portrait.¹² On 2 August 1865, she had received notification of the commission for the portrait from the state. She would be paid 3,000 francs (1,000 francs less than Carpeaux would receive in January of 1866 for his bust of the Prince Impérial)¹³ and the bust was to decorate either the “Salle du conseil municipal” (Municipal Council Hall) or the “Salle du Trône” (Throne Room) in the Hôtel de Ville in Paris. The commission for the bust would certainly have helped to further Marcello’s professional credibility.

Marcello, thrilled at having obtained her official commission, began working on it immediately, and before the year’s end she had a completed sketch to show her patrons. Although the order in which Marcello produced the portraits of Eugénie is not clear, it seems from published sources that the bust that was eventually photographed by Gaspard-Félix Tournachon, known as Nadar (1820-1910), was the earliest version (fig. 2-12). Having seen this plaster bust in January of 1866, probably at Marcello’s studio, the critic Ernest Fillonneau praised it in *Le Moniteur des arts* as a masterwork of contemporary portraiture. His review seems to describe the work in question, as it is the only version with a double strand of pearls. As the only published critique of the work from the period, Fillonneau’s review is worth quoting in its entirety:

Radiating all the graces of beauty, embodying all the nobility of grandeur, exhibiting a majestic pose, seductions of a soft and protective dignity, such is the bust we can still see before us, so much has it engraved itself in our mind. The delicate traits of the sovereign are to be seen in approximately a three-quarter view. The hair, high and in a knot in the Greek style, falls down in silky curls. On the forehead, a diadem from the middle of which an imperial eagle takes flight. Around the neck, we find a double strand of pearls. Finally, floating on her shoulders, there are ample draperies.

One does not make such a portrait without having been close to the original. It is the official image of the sovereign, but it is also a faithful representation of the woman. The artist owes to her rank as much to her talent the rare privilege of having been able to, during a recent vacation, begin a work which exudes enthusiasm and the sacred fire of emotion, where the heart can claim a part at least as big as the hand and the mind.

This bust, in its original and inspired form, with the charming tones of the clay and the vivid nuances caressed by the sketch, would appear to us as preferable to the

12. For acquisitions, commands and purchases of Marcello’s works by the French government, see file boxes at the Archives Nationales de France (CARAN), files F/21/160 (Dossier 28); F/21/237; F/21/539; F/21/485; F/21/832; F/21/4500B (dossier 2, pièce 30 et pièce 208); F/21/4909B (Dossier 10, pièce 5); F/21/128 (Dossier 34); F/21/2215 (Dossier 13); F/21/470 (Dossier 6); F/21/4910A (Dossier 1, pièce 5); F/21/2208A (Dossier 1).

13. For the specifics regarding Marcello’s commission, see CARAN files F/21/485; for Carpeaux, see Wagner, 1982, 447.



Fig. 2-11. Marcello. *Empress Eugénie*. 1866. Marble.
Collection Audouy, Paris, France. Photograph copyright
Thomas Hennocque.



Fig. 2-12. Gaspard-Félix Tournachon, known as Nadar.
Marcello's Bust of the Empress Eugénie.
Photograph of 1867, retouched with gaphite.
Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.

marble if in the interest of art and history, the ravages of time were not an issue in a work of sculpture.

The artist, indeed, bears a name that two Salons – two successes, have been enough to bring it fame. This name is: Marcello. I will not identify otherwise to my readers the author of *Bianca Capello* and of the *Gorgone*, already famous.

Will the bust of the Empress by Marcello be seen in the exhibition before entering the Hôtel de Ville where it is to be placed? We strongly wish it for the public, to whom it will bring the exquisite joys of great art, and for the sculptor, who will receive a new harvest of laurels.¹⁴

That summer, however, instead of exhibiting the bust of the Empress at the Salon, Marcello submitted two busts of a different sovereign: Marie-Antoinette. She certainly did not want to exhibit the bust of Eugénie without having received prior approval for the version from the Minister of Fine Arts. Regardless, the bust of Eugénie was poised to be a great success, not only because of Fillonneau's glowing studio review but also because the founder Ferdinand Barbedienne had proposed to produce an edition of the bust in bronze.¹⁵

Marcello continued to seek opinions from friends and colleagues on the bust throughout the year. Having shown the plaster bust to her friend Prosper Mérimée, Marcello received his suggestion, on 30 August 1866, that she retouch the mouth. "I have thought very much about the portrait. I find it excellent but I would like you to finish one correction at the corners of the mouth, after nature. The mouth seems to me to be that of her majesty when she smiles, while the other traits are hers when she thinks about important things."¹⁶ It may have been around this time that Marcello produced the wax version of Eugénie's portrait, focusing on the head only (see fig. 2-9). The work resembles the plaster bust in hairstyle and in the crown with its imperial eagle ornament. Here, with the head slightly tipped to the left, that artist has given the Empress a smile with a less pensive and strict pose.

An additional version showing the Empress with head and neck only and dressed in an ancient Greek-styled classical headdress was produced as well, and this version exists in a plaster pointed for transfer (fig. 2-10) and a finished marble (fig. 2-11). In both, the emphasis on adornment is reduced but the smile and placid expression remain. Marcello's idea to create an image of the Empress with classical elements was certainly

14. Ernest Fillonneau, "Un Buste de L'Impératrice," *Moniteur des arts* (26 January 1866): 2. "Rayonnant de toutes les grâces de la beauté, empreint de toutes les noblesses de la grandeur, déployant dans un galbe majestueux les séductions d'une douce et bienveillante dignité, tel est le buste que nous croyons avoir encore devant les yeux, tant il s'est gravé, [h]ier, dans notre esprit. – Les traits délicats de la souveraine se montrent à peu près de trois quarts. Relevée et nouée à la grecque, la chevelure retombe en boucles soyeuses. Sur le front, un diadème au milieu duquel se détache l'Aigle Impérial. Autour du cou, un double rang de perles. Enfin, flottantes sur les épaules, d'amples draperies. On ne fait pas un tel portrait sans avoir beaucoup approché l'original. C'est l'image officielle de la souveraine, mais c'est aussi l'image fidèle de la femme. L'artiste doit à son rang autant qu'à son talent le rare privilège d'avoir pu, durant une villégiature récente, commencer une œuvre d'où s'exhalent l'enthousiasme et le feu sacré de l'émotion ressentie, où le cœur peut revendiquer une part au moins aussi grande que la main et la pensée. Ce buste, dans sa forme première et inspirée, avec les tons charmants de l'argile et les nuances vivaces caressées par l'ébauchoir nous semblerait préférable au marbre, si dans l'intérêt de l'art et de l'histoire, il n'importait pas de disputer le travail du statuaire aux ravages du temps. L'artiste, d'ailleurs, porte un nom que deux Salons – deux succès – ont suffi à illustrer: ce nom est: *Marcello*. Je ne veux pas désigner autrement à mes lecteurs l'auteur d'une *Bianca Capello* et d'une *Gorgone* déjà célèbres. Le buste de l'Impératrice, par Marcello, verra-t-il l'Exposition avant d'entrer à l'Hôtel-de-Ville, où il doit-être placé? Nous le souhaitons bien vivement pour le public, auquel il procurera les jouissances exquises du grand art, et pour le statuaire, qui recueillera une nouvelle moisson de lauriers." Much of this same text was published under the title "Paris au jour le jour," in *L'Événement* (28 January 1866): 2-3.

15. Anne Pinget, "Marcello," in *Dictionnaire du Second Empire*, Jean Tulard, ed., (Paris: Fayard, 1995): 771-2. "En 1866, Barbedienne lui propose l'édition de son buste de l'Impératrice Eugénie."

16. Letter from Prosper Mérimée to Adèle Colonna (Marcello), dated 30 August [1866], Archives FM. "J'ai beaucoup pensé au portrait. Je le trouve excellent mais je voudrais que vous fissiez une retouche aux coins de la bouche, d'après nature. La bouche me semble celle de S[a] M[ajesté] quand elle rit, tandis que les autres traits sont les siens quand elle pense à des choses importantes."

implemented to reinforce her role as a timeless and charitable figure, as the garments are reminiscent of those worn by goddesses and offering-bearers in ancient art. The marble includes an *armoire* or crest below the drapery containing the letter E superimposed over the letter N as an additional element that identifies the figure. The emphasis on the facial features of the sovereign work to present her in a personal way, and typical codes for royalty such as an ornate crown, numerous jewels, Napoléonic bees, and the like are not present in this version of Marcello's intimate portrait of the Empress.

Official government ministers of art could refuse a work of art after it had been produced. In November of 1866, Marcello received a cryptic refusal for the Eugénie commission from Georges Baron Haussmann, Préfet of the Seine. It is not completely clear why the commission was refused, as proceedings for the meetings are no longer extant, but it is clear that Marcello was admonished on one count for submitting a marble to the committee for review:

17. A copy of this letter written in Marcello hand is found in the *Cahier de cuir rose-rouge*, Archives FM. The original letter of Georges Baron Haussmann to Adèle Colonna (Marcello), nor the mentioned attachments, is not found at the Archives. "Madame, la Commission des beaux-arts, dans ses séances des 17 et 30 octobre, a examiné le buste en marbre de S. M. l'Impératrice qui vous a été demandé pour la salle du Trône à l'Hôtel de Ville. Les extraits ci-joints des procès-verbaux de ces deux séances vous feront connaître les motifs qui ont déterminé la Commission à refuser son approbation à votre travail. Je regrette vivement qu'en procédant à l'exécution définitive de votre œuvre, vous vous soyez écartée des termes précis de la commande. Vous vous êtes ainsi placée et vous m'avez placé dans une situation très délicate. En effet, si les critiques actuelles de la Commission des Beaux-Arts sont fondées, les critiques dirigées contre un buste en projet eussent pu être mises à profit, tandis qu'en présence d'un travail définitif, elles n'ont pu se produire que sous la forme d'un avis défavorable que je puis ne pas suivre, il est vrai, quoiqu'une résolution de ce genre soit aussi embarrassante qu'anormale, mais qui n'en subsistera pas moins à l'encontre de votre travail; quoiqu'il en soit, comme je ne puis me résoudre à vous faire subir les suites d'un refus d'acceptation, auquel vous vous êtes exposée, j'ai décidé que le buste dont il s'agit serait accepté par mon administration. Je désire, Madame la Duchesse, que vous voyiez dans cette décision une nouvelle preuve des sentiments qui m'ont inspiré la pensée de vous demander une œuvre de votre talent."

18. Ghislain de Diesbach, in his *La Double vie de la duchesse Colonna: La chimère bleue* (Paris: Perrin, 1988), 180, suggests that the problem was that the neck was too long ("le cou a besoin d'être raccourci").

*Madam, the commission of Fine Arts, in their meetings of the 17th and 30th of October, have examined the bust in marble of her majesty the Empress for which you have been commissioned for the Throne Room at the Hôtel de Ville. The attached extracts of the proceedings of these two meetings will inform you of the reasons that have led the commission to refuse the approval of your work. I deeply regret that in developing the definitive execution of your sculpture, you deviated from the precise terms of the order. Thus you are placed, and you have placed me, in a very delicate situation. In effect, if the present critiques of the commission of Fine Arts are justified, the critiques put forward against a bust in draft form could have been made beneficial, while in the presence of a definitive work, they could only produce an unfavorable opinion that I can reject, it is true, although a decision of this type would be embarrassing as well as unusual, but which nonetheless would be injurious to your work; despite this, as I cannot bring myself to make you suffer the consequences of a refusal of acceptance, to which you have exposed yourself, I have decided that the bust (which is) in question would be accepted by my administration. I hope, Madam Duchess, that you will see in this decision a new proof of the sentiments that had inspired the thought of asking you for a work of your talent.*¹⁷

It is not known how Marcello deviated from the original order, or if she actually did so (she seemed to think she had not).¹⁸ Also unclear is which marble Haussmann refused,

as Marcello ultimately completed two: the Greek-styled portrait mentioned above (fig. 2-9) and an additional marble, closer in pose and composition to the early plaster, but with additional decorative elements (fig. 2-10).

In a letter to her mother, Marcello expressed her dismay at the rejection. "I am admonished," she noted, "reprimanded, [and] almost punished for having made a bust which is truly a good thing. It is a crime, an offense to the majesty of the Administration, and they are looking for this pretext of my not having submitted the plaster to violently indict me."¹⁹ The Countess d'Affry consoled her daughter on 24 November:

I am outraged at this letter from the Préfet who complains that your work is too beautiful. The Administration does not permit it! It seems to me impossible that you take back this bust to please Nieuwerkerke since the Préfet had accepted it [...]. What a mess! What progress can the arts make with such persons to judge and encourage artists. The only thing to do is to accept the price of this bust and to keep quiet on the subject at the moment that you begin receiving commissions, one made a treaty with you, an artist, and with all of these asses who are the masters, too bad. I see that you have a very heavy heart my poor child! Try to pacify the Pasha of the arts nevertheless, if you see him at Compiègne. What has Frémy said of this so stupid letter of Haussmann? [...] My poor child [...] you are universally admired and yet you are still waiting.²⁰

Marcello took her mother's advice and asked "Frémy," what he thought of Haussmann's letter. Although it is not completely clear, the person referred to seems to have been Louis Frémy (1805-1891) a lawyer, director of the Crédit Foncier, and government representative in Paris (*député*). In a letter to her mother later in the month, Marcello suggests that Frémy convinced Haussmann to accept the portrait of Eugénie for the Musée de Lyon.²¹

Around the time of Marcello's problems with the administration, in 1866, Carpeaux seems to have been given a commission to produce a portrait of Eugénie. It has been noted elsewhere that Carpeaux continually requested a portrait commission from the Empress and that she finally relented in 1866.²² His bust of Eugénie from that year resembles closely a painted portrait of the Empress by Franz Xavier Winterhalter (1806-1873), painted in 1864; in both, the Empress wears a similar necklace, *coiffure*, and off-

19. Adèle Colonna (Marcello) to her mother the Countess Lucie d'Affry, 22 November 1866, Archives FM. "Voici une lettre du préfet de la Seine dont vous apprécierez comme moi la teneur blessante. Je suis tancée, réprimandée presque punie pour avoir fait un buste qui est vraiment une bonne chose. C'est un délit, une offense à la majesté de l'administration et ils vont chercher ce prétexte de n'avoir pas montré le plâtre pour me faire un réquisitoire violent."

20. Countess Lucie d'Affry to Adèle Colonna (Marcello) dated "samedi matin 24," [24 November 1866], Archives FM. "Je suis outrée de cette lettre du Préfet qui se plaint que ton œuvre soit trop belle! L'Administration ne le permet pas! Il me semble impossible que tu reprennes ce buste pour faire plaisir à Nieuwerkerke puisque le Préfet l'a accepté quoique aussi [illisible: vraiment; vraisemblable] que possible. Quelle boutique! Quels progrès les arts peuvent-ils faire avec de pareilles gens pour juger et encourager les artistes. Il ne te reste qu'à recevoir le prix de ce buste et à te taire à ce sujet du moment que l'on te fait des commandes, on te traite en artiste et si ce sont des ânes qui sont les maîtres, tant pis. Je vois que tu as le cœur bien gros pauvre enfant! Tache d'amadouer le Pacha des arts pourtant, si tu le vois à Compiègne. [...] Que dit Frémy de la lettre si stupide de Haussmann? My poor child [written in English] [...] mais tu es universellement admirée en attendant."

21. Adèle Colonna (Marcello) to her mother Countess Lucie d'Affry, dated 15 November 1866, Archives FM. "On fera le cancan de cette affaire, bien sûr, patience, que n'est la fin, dois-je en passer par là. Aujourd'hui j'ai [une] lettre de Frémy, il a parlé à M. Haussmann, qui malgré l'avis formel de la commission présidée par Nieuwerkerke pour rejeter mon buste, l'admit par faveur. C'est heureux, vous jugez en dépit de la pauvre artiste, enfin si elle attrape ses cinq mille [illegible mark, possibly "fr" for "francs"] elle se moque bien du reste."

22. Michel Poletti and Alain Richarme, *Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux, Sculpteur, Catalogue raisonné de l'œuvre éditée* (Paris: Expressions contemporaines/Les éditions de l'amateur, 2003), 22. "L'impératrice, qui n'a jamais apprécié ses portraits dans le marbre (à l'exception de celui réalisé par Nieuwerkerke), n'a guère envie de poser. Ce n'est qu'en 1866, devant l'insistance du sculpteur, qu'elle finit par accepter. Malheureusement, ce buste n'est pas la plus belle réussite de Carpeaux et le travail ne débouchera pas sur la réalisation d'un grand buste d'apparat, ni sur une édition."



Fig. 2-13. Marcello. *Portrait Bust of the Empress Eugénie*. 1866. Marble. Musée des beaux-arts, Lyon, France.

the-shoulder dress. Carpeaux's bust was no more successful than Marcello's, and it did not progress past the plaster stage. In fact, neither Carpeaux's nor Marcello's busts of the Empress were ever cast in bronze.

Regardless of the events that had passed in November, Marcello continued to work on the Empress's project, this time with the assistance of photographs. She transferred the early version of the bust to Nadar's studio for its representation in his medium in January of 1867. His photograph of the bust (see [fig. 2-12](#)) is conserved at the Fondation Marcello, and exhibits an interesting element of Marcello's working method. The photograph is "retouched," with the addition of pencil marks and shading; often she used photographs of her sculptures to rework ideas and to add elements to later versions. It is possible that she ordered the photograph so that she could rethink her composition and other elements for the final version to be sent to the Musée de Lyon. Photographs could also be passed on to *praticiens* as an aide in illustrating necessary changes that the artist wanted in the final marble version. It seems that such photographs would have been passed over to Marcello's *praticien*, Francesco Franzoni (active in Carrara, Italy and at 17, rue Daru, Paris), who worked on the marbles of Eugénie, for such a purpose.

Marcello wasted no time in exhibiting the sculpture following the administration's decision against it. Having spent a large portion of 1866 on the portraits of Eugénie, she wanted to exhibit something from the project somewhere. Ultimately, one of the busts of Eugénie was shown in a special exhibition; in the summer of 1867, she submitted a plaster of Eugénie to the Royal Academy Exhibition in London, possibly the plaster bust photographed by Nadar and reviewed by Fillonneau. Exhibiting the bust in London was a strategic move; few people would have known of the difficulties she had experienced with the bust in Paris and she could exhibit the work without fear that the history behind the piece would find its way into critical reviews. In fact, the plaster was exhibited and catalogued in London as a work still destined for Hôtel de Ville.²³ Meanwhile in Paris, Marcello exhibited another portrait (of Mademoiselle de Grétry) at the Exposition du cercle de l'union artistique in March of 1867, and eight other sculptures in the Exposition universelle of the same year from April to September. The years 1866 and 1867 were Marcello's most prolific, and her work was exhibited in six major exhibitions during these two years, in Lille, London and Paris.

23. Royal Academy Exhibition, 1867, Catalogue number 1180, "H.M. the Empress Eugénie (the original in marble is in the possession of the Hôtel de Ville, Paris, for the Salle du trône)."



Fig. 2-14. Rabending and Monckhoven. *Elisabeth, Empress of Austria and Queen of Hungary* (known as Sissi). Not dated. Photograph. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.

The bust that finally was given to the Musée de Lyon was rather different from the others in the group (fig. 2-13). Similar to earlier versions, this marble has the same bee motif on the draperies and a similar treatment of the hair. Differences include the three strands of pearls instead of two, a different crown with the imperial eagle removed, and a change in the dress, which is not in Greek style, but instead is styled in a more modern, Second Empire mode with meticulously rendered lace elements. The plain base of the earlier work is here replaced with a more elegant socle base. Although there are more regal elements in this definitive version of the portrait, there is an attempt by the artist to balance the image of the public Empress with that of the private Eugénie, two facets of the woman's personage that Marcello was privileged to know first hand.

The bust of Eugénie at Lyon exemplifies Marcello's ideas and concepts for the depiction of women in positions of power. The positioning of the head and neck is strong and straight, adornment is simplified, and the smile, which the artist retained in this definitive version, speaks to Eugénie's character and kindness. In this way it is similar in composition to Marcello's busts of heroic females, discussed in the following chapter. Additionally, Eugénie is presented to the viewer not as an allegorical figure of charity or as a regal queen of superhuman proportions. Instead she is presented to the viewer as an authentic and approachable figure, a real person capable of true emotions. The symbolism of numerous nineteenth-century images of regal women (as, for example, Carpeaux's *Empress Eugénie Protecting Orphans and the Arts*, where the subject is shown more as a personification of charity rather than a specific person) is here absent.

According to documentation at the Musée de Lyon, this bust was deposited at the museum in September 1870.²⁴ It has been discussed rarely and was not reproduced in Henriette Bessis's catalogue in 1980. In 1982, the bust was included in an exhibition entitled *De Carpeaux à Matisse*, held at the Musée des beaux-arts, Calais.

Of course, in retrospect it ended up being much better for posterity that one of Marcello's busts of the Empress was placed at Lyon; if a version of the bust had actually been placed in the Hôtel de Ville prior to 1870-71, it certainly would have been destroyed when that building was attacked during the Franco-Prussian war and was virtually destroyed during the Commune. Original plasters are conserved at the Fondation Marcello in Fribourg, as is the wax head study, returned to the Château d'Affry in Fribourg in 2002 after having been on extended loan to the Musée Château de

24. Documentation de Musée des beaux-arts, Lyon, inventory number A 3047. Special thanks to Laurence Berthon who kindly provided me with the documentation sheet on Marcello's bust of Eugénie, and to Muriel Le Payen who provided me with the photograph. The bust of Eugénie at Lyon is thought to be that which was destined for the Hôtel de Ville, according to Magnus von Wistinghausen of the Fondation Marcello.

Compiègne. Marcello herself destroyed another plaster in 1870, possibly that for the marble in Lyon, as the plaster pointed for transfer cannot be located at present for this work.

EMPERESS ELISABETH OF AUSTRIA, QUEEN OF HUNGARY, KNOWN AS “SISSI” (1837-1898)

The extent or closeness of the relationship between Marcello and Elisabeth, Empress of Austria and Queen of Hungary (née Wittelsbach, 1836-1898, [fig. 2-14](#)) is unknown. There are no letters conserved at the Fondation Marcello written by the infamous “Sissi,” which is unusual because Marcello was often in letter contact with people she portrayed, and she preserved their letters. Whether the bust of the Austrian Empress was a commission or a work done on speculation is also not known with certainty. Yet in 1898, a critic in *Nouvelles étreennes fribourgeoises* noted that the “original” version of the bust could be found at the Château de Gödöllő, Sissi’s summer residence, near Budapest.²⁵ The artist did own photographs of the Empress, which remain conserved at the Archives Marcello. Having died in 1879, Marcello never knew Sissi’s fate; the anarchist Luigi Lucheni had murdered her in Geneva on 10 September 1898.²⁶

On 8 June 1867, Elisabeth and her husband (and cousin) Franz-Joseph were crowned King and Queen of Hungary, and it was around this time that Marcello and her mother traveled to Austria. Marcello began her bust of Sissi on that excursion. Starting with drawings ([fig. 2-15](#) and [2-16](#)), Marcello worked on and completed the bust in Vienna (from life and photographs of Sissi) and then sent her plaster ([fig. 2-17](#)) to Paris that summer to be executed in marble ([fig. 2-18](#)). Letters between Marcello and her mother suggest that she continued work on the piece through July and August. Although additional strands of pearls and drop pearls were added to the final marble version, Marcello’s portrait of Sissi changed very little from the early drawings for the work.

Adorned with a crown, choker pendant necklace, and seven strands of pearls across her bodice, Sissi’s regal portrait is the most extravagant of Marcello’s busts in this genre. A single bare shoulder is set off by the elaborate garment and heavy cape that she dons. Her wasp-like waist, historically accurate by most accounts, gives the relatively small figure a sense of height; the torso is long enough that the sculpture resembles a figure in half-view rather than a traditional bust. Sissi’s classicized hairstyle is reminiscent of that of ancient Roman busts, again a reference to the glorification of female figures in

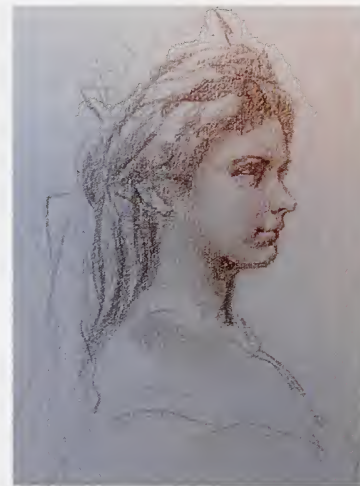


Fig. 2-15. Marcello. Elisabeth, Empress of Austria, at Her Coronation. 1867. Drawing in brown crayon. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.

25. Henri de Schaller, “Comtesse d’Affry,” in *Nouvelles étreennes fribourgeoises* (Fribourg: Imprimerie Fragnière Frères, 1898): 133.

26. For the standard biography on Elisabeth of Austria, see Egon C. Corti, *Elisabeth d’Autriche, Sissi* trans. Marguerite Diehl (Paris: Éditions Payot, 1992), originally published as *Elisabeth die Seltsame Frau* (Salzburg: Verlag Anton Pustet, 1936).



Fig. 2-17. Marcello. *Elisabeth, Empress of Austria*. 1867.
Plaster.
Fondation Marcello, Fribourg [S 43].



Fig. 2-18. Marcello. *Elisabeth, Empress of Austria*. 1867.
Marble.
Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg, on extended loan
to the Château de Gruyères, Gruyères, Switzerland.
Photograph by the author.

ancient art. She has both a delicate nature that would have been expected in images of a contemporary queen, and a haughtiness and pride evident in the expression and composure of the figure, typical of more valiant personages.

By September a Parisian merchant, Auguste Kline, had purchased the bust of Sissi from Marcello with plans to reproduce it for sale, while she retained the right to reproduce the work in various sizes and media. "Exhibited" at Kline's shop at 6, boulevard des Capucines, the bust, now in marble, was seen by D.-G. d'Auvergne, art critic for *Le Figaro*. Auvergne devoted much of his article entitled "Vivat Frantz-Joseph und Elisabeth," of 25 October, to a description of Marcello's bust of the beautiful Hapsburg. He lauded the bust as one of the artist's best works:

Never has Marcello been better inspired, never has a work more delicate and more fine at the same time come from the chisel of the Duchess Colonna; one well senses, lighting this harmonious unity, radiant and pure, that this is the bust of a woman by another woman. I doubt that another sculptor would have as easily understood or interpreted the nuances of this animated physiognomy, which can escape from the chisel and slip through the hands of the artist like an imperceptible shadow.²⁷

Even long after Marcello's death, the bust of Sissi was remembered as one of Marcello's most significant portraits. Henri de Schaller recalled Marcello and her mother's voyage to Austria and the bust to readers of *Nouvelles étrennes fribourgeoises* in 1898 (the year of Sissi's death), saying that they actually assisted in the coronation of the Queen:

These women made the voyage together to Vienna to assist in the coronation of the King of Hungary, which occurred in 1867 at Presbourg and Budapest. It was on this voyage that the Duchess Colonna made the gracious bust of the Empress Elisabeth, of which the original is found at the Château de Gödöllö [sic] and of which we possess a reproduction at the Musée Marcello.²⁸

Images of regal women produced during the nineteenth-century often have a grandeur that masks the true character of the figure depicted. In Marcello's portraits, there is not only an emphasis on the greatness of the person's role in life, but also an attempt to imbue the marble with the personal characteristics of the individual portrayed. The



Fig. 2-16. Marcello. Elisabeth, Empress of Austria, at Her Coronation. 1867. Graphite drawing. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.

27. D.-G. d'Auvergne, "Vivat Franz-Joseph [sic] und Elisabeth," *Le Figaro* (25 October 1867): 2. "Jamais Marcello n'a été mieux inspirée, jamais œuvre plus délicate et plus fine à la fois n'est sortie du ciseau de la duchesse Colonna; on sent bien, en voyant cet ensemble harmonieux, rayonnant et pur, que c'est là le buste d'une femme par une autre femme. Je doute qu'un statuaire eut aussi bien compris ou interprété les nuances de cette physionomie mobile, qui doit échapper à l'ébauchoir et glisser entre les mains de l'artiste comme une ombre insaisissable."

28. Henri de Schaller, "Comtesse d'Affry," *Nouvelles étrennes fribourgeoises* (Fribourg: Imprimerie Fragnière Frères, 1898): 133. "Ces dames firent ensemble le voyage de Vienne pour assister au couronnement du roi de Hongrie qui eut lieu en 1867 à Presbourg et à Budapest [...] C'est dans ce voyage que la duchesse Colonna fit le buste gracieux de l'impératrice Elisabeth, dont l'original se trouve au château de Gödöllö et dont nous possédons une reproduction au musée Marcello."

gentleness of Sissi's character and her free spirit, always commented upon by her biographers, seem to be evidenced in her expression as captured by Marcello.

SPAIN: 1868 AND THE PORTRAIT OF GENERAL LLORENÇ MILANS DEL BOSCH I MAURI (1820-1880)

After earning critical success in Paris and London during the early 1860s, Marcello traveled to Spain, arriving there in September of 1868 (while the country was in the middle of a revolution that would depose Queen Isabella II). She joined her friends Henri Regnault and Georges Clairin for an artistic sojourn. Their closeness is exemplified by the affectionate names by which they referred to each other; Clairin was Geogotte (a nickname for Georges, sometimes spelled Jojotte), Regnault was Riquet (the diminutive of the Spanish form of Henri, *i.e.*, Enriques), and Marcello was Mietta or Miettita (the source for which is unknown). The experience was a formative one for all and emulating Spanish art became an important factor in their work.²⁹

While the purpose of the Spanish sojourn was artistic and professional, Marcello also had, as a member of aristocratic society, an obligation to the injured. Attached to a letter to her mother, dated 2 October 1868, is a small clipping from a Spanish newspaper:

*The elegant and beautiful Duchess Castiglione Colonna, so famous in the aristocratic circles of Paris, who travels to Spain with an artistic objective and who found passage in Cordoba, has visited the battlefield to charitably take aid to the wounded.*³⁰

Marcello wrote of attending to the sick and spending days at the hospital consoling the wounded. It seems that, on the one hand, she needed to justify her trip to her mother, and aiding those in need would help her to do so. Yet she also acknowledged that the true purpose of her trip was "ruined" due to her involvement with the relief effort. Days later she wrote to her mother again:

*The war, the wounded, the politics around me have strongly obscured in my mind my impressions of art and because of that the purpose of my trip was lost. Your daughter is thought of as a sort of Miss Nightingale of the Crimea, I am mentioned in every newspaper, and fortunately up to now I have been able to prevent some very ridiculous articles, but the army that saw me alone and confident among them, caring for those at Córdoba, they remember me and I receive many expressions of sympathy.*³¹

29. See Manet/Velázquez: *The French Taste for Spanish Painting*, exh. cat., Gary Tinterow and Geneviève La Cambre, eds., (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003).

30. Clipping from an unidentified newspaper or journal inserted into a letter from the Duchess Colonna to her mother, the Countess Lucie d'Affry, letter dated 2 October 1868. Archives F.M. "La elegante y hermosa Duquesa de Castiglioni [*sic*] Colonna, tan famosa en los círculos aristocráticos de París, que viaja por España con un objeto artístico y se encontraba de paso en Córdoba, ha visitado a yer el campo de batalla para llevar caritativamente socorros a los heridos." I owe special thanks to Letita Lara for her suggestions on Spanish translations.

31. Letter from the Duchess Colonna in Madrid to her mother, the Countess Lucie d'Affry, dated 6 October 1868. Archives F.M. "La guerre, les blessés, la politique, autour de moi avaient fort obscurci en mon esprit les impressions d'art, et par là même le but de mon voyage se trouvait manqué. On fait de votre fille ici une sorte de Miss Nightingale, en Crimée, on me met dans chaque journal, et heureusement jusqu'ici j'ai pu empêcher des articles trop ridicules. Mais l'armée qui m'a vue seule et confiante parmi elle, soignant les siens à Cordoue, me garde souvenir, et je reçois mille marques de sympathie."

In addition to performing charity work and vividly chronicling the war in her letters, Marcello made art alongside her friends Clairin and Regnault. She accompanied them to the Museo del Prado to make studies after Vélasquez, an artist whose work greatly affected her artistic direction. Through Regnault and the liberal General Juan Prim y Prats, of whom Regnault painted an equestrian portrait (fig. 2-19 and 2-20, Musée d'Orsay, Paris), she met General Llorenç Milans del Bosch I Mauri (fig. 2-21).³²

Regnault's own correspondence provides a clear picture of the artists' stay in Spain during this difficult time. He wrote to his father that "the Duchess C*** appeared worthy of being Spanish, although Swiss by birth and subject of a very peaceful republic, she is as passionate as we are for this awful but splendid spectacle."³³ Prim and Bosch were major figures during the Spanish Revolution of 1868, especially after September 28, when rebel forces led by General Francisco Serrano defeated the Spanish Royal Army at the Battle of Alcolea near Cordoba; Prim and Serrano became the leaders of the Spanish government. Posing for artists, therefore, may have been part of a larger propagandistic program. Regnault made mention of the revolution in letters to his father throughout 1868, again including Marcello in his text:

*In Andalusia, it is different; communications have stopped; also, the Duchess C***, who had left ten days ago for a short excursion to Seville and Grenada, has been detained there against her will.*³⁴

More importantly, Regnault often wrote to his father about the progress of his work and the details that surrounded its production. He again wrote to his father from Spain later in the year:

*Last week, in a room of the museum closed off to the public, we made portraits of General Milanz [sic]. Clairin made a life-sized, knee-length portrait; me, I made a rough full length sketch, including the boots. During this time, the Duchess C*** made a bust.*³⁵

The triple portraits of Bosch seem to have been the first works that Regnault, Clairin and Marcello worked on side by side. The Musée d'art et d'histoire in Fribourg preserves both an unfinished painting of Milans del Bosch by Regnault and Marcello's bust of the General (figs. 2-22, 2-23 and 2-24). Regnault later gave his unfinished painting of Bosch

32. Regnault included Bosch's portrait on the middle right side of his portrait of General Prim (see fig. 2-20), which resembles both his own painted portrait of Bosch owned by Marcello and her own portrait bust of the General. Variations on the spelling of the General's name exist, including "Milan del Bosc" and "Milans del Bosch."

33. Duparc 1890, 184. "La duchesse C*** s'est montrée digne d'être espagnole; bien que Suisse de naissance et sujette d'une république bien pacifique, elle s'est passionnée comme nous pour cet affreux mais splendide spectacle..."

34. Duparc 1890, 193. "En Andalousie, c'est différent; les communications sont arrêtées; aussi, la duchesse C***, qui était partie, il y a dix jours, pour une courte excursion à Séville et à Grenade, est-elle retenue dans ces parages malgré elle."

35. Duparc 1890, 216. "La semaine dernière nous avons fait, dans une salle du musée fermée au public, le portrait du Général Milanz [sic]. Clairin le faisait grand comme nature jusqu'aux genoux, moi j'en ai fait une pochade d'ensemble, y compris les bottes. Pendant ce temps-là, la duchesse C*** faisait son buste."



Fig. 2-20. Henri Regnault. *Juan Prim: 8 October 1868*. Detail of far right side of canvas, showing portrait of General Bosch. 1869. Oil on canvas. Musée d'Orsay, Paris.



Fig. 2-19. Henri Regnault. *Juan Prim on Horseback arriving at Madrid on 8 October 1868*. 1869. Oil on canvas. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. Photo: Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, NY.

to her for her collection of works by her contemporaries; at the time of Regnault's death, the work was already in her collection. In addition to "sharing" Bosch in Madrid, Marcello and Regnault also shared a model in Rome; this Italian woman became the preliminary model for Regnault's *Salomé*, and most likely for Marcello's *Pythia*.

Clairin recounted the artistic sessions that he shared with Marcello and Regnault in his memoirs, edited by André Beaunier and published in 1906 under the title *Les Souvenirs d'un peintre*. The group of artists referred to Bosch as "the little general," and, despite their national and political differences, the general and the artists got on together quite well during posing sessions:

*Milans del Bosc[h] had a great admiration for the Duchess Colonna. They met each other often at our atelier. They had interminable conversations and exchanged gossip. Regnault sung the malagueñas...and in our company, Milans completely forgot the Revolution. One day, at the museum where he had accompanied us, and where each of us worked to paint, draw and sculpt him, he forgot it so well that he had to be reminded of it. [...] The Duchess Colonna made his bust: he was enchanted. When we went to the museum, he escorted the Duchess Colonna. [...] And nothing in the world was more amusing than the sight of the proud charm of this little general, who was arm in arm with a duchess two heads taller than him. A Roman duchess, from old aristocracy, and he, a general of the Revolution.*³⁶

Marcello's plaster bust of Bosch retains her markings by hand and tool; since this sketch was not turned over to a *praticien* for reworking in a more permanent medium, her personal facture has not been removed or softened. This individualistic modeling adds considerably to the realistic depiction of Bosch himself. The revolutionary's longish hair is piled loosely atop his head, and a large bushy mustache above parted lips disguises his boney facial features. His eyes, incised and a bit cat-like, are averted skyward and are crowned by a heavy brow. The turn of Bosch's head accentuates his throat and neck muscles, drawing the viewers' eyes towards the loosely tied cravat. The overcoat and blouse are barely suggested. Bosch seems caught at a moment of deep thought; he is shown both relaxed in pose and yet filled with the nervous energy of the revolution.

In his brief comparison of Marcello's busts of Bosch and Carpeaux in 1909, Jean-Jacques Berthier described the pulsing vivacity of the former:



Fig. 2-21. General Milans del Bosch I Mauri. Circa 1868. Photograph. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.

36. Georges Clairin, *Les Souvenirs d'un peintre*, André Beaunier, ed. (Paris: Bibliothèque-Charpentier, 1906): 94-5. "Milans del Bosc avait une grande admiration pour la duchesse Colonna. Ils se rencontraient souvent à notre atelier. Conversations interminables, bavardages. Regnault chantait des malagueñas... et Milans, en notre compagnie, oubliait tout à fait la Révolution. Un jour, au musée où il nous avait accompagnés, et où chacun de nous travaillait à le peindre, à le dessiner, à le sculpter [sic], il l'oublia si bien qu'elle dut se rappeler à lui. [...] La duchesse Colonna fit son buste: il était enchanté. Quand nous allions au musée, il escortait la duchesse Colonna; [...] Et rien au monde n'était plus amusant que de voir l'orgueil charmé de ce petit bonhomme de général, qui avait à son bras une duchesse de deux têtes plus haute que lui. Une duchesse romaine – vieille aristocratie – et lui, général de révolution."



Fig. 2-22. Henri Regnault. *Portrait of General Milans del Bosch I Mauri*. 1869. Oil on canvas. Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg. Given to the Canton of Fribourg as part of the original Musée Marcello bequest, 1881.



Fig. 2-23. Marcello. *Bust of General Milans del Bosch I Mauri*. 1868. Rose-colored plaster. Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg. Photograph by Bruno Jarret, Paris.

*This general, a little disheveled, will not be very strong, without doubt, in wide tactics; he does not appear reflective and concerned enough for this; but he has just seen the enemy in the distance: already he shoots on sight, and since the enemy does not advance, he will go search for them. [...] This is not a head with general and complex ideas; this is a head with ideas that are unique, simple, and easily fanatic. This is not one of reasoning: it is of exclusive energy; the nervousness, the thinness, the tension of the traits do not leave any doubt about the subject. This rapidly sketched bust incontestably resembles the man from a moral as well as a physical point of view.*³⁷

Never exhibited in her lifetime, Marcello's bust of Bosch contributes historically to this moment in Spain's history, as relatively few images of the general exist from the period. Not simply a portrait bust, this image of Bosch is also an important historical artifact from a moment when Spain was in great upheaval, and when three important artists shared a studio in a country in turmoil, which nonetheless brimmed with culture and history.

FINAL PORTRAITS

Increasing physical problems related to tuberculosis marked Marcello's final years. She exhibited much less frequently than earlier in her career, and during the 1870s her works appeared only in the Salons of 1870, 1875, and 1876. She began to devote herself more frequently to painting, which was much less physically taxing. The submission of her largest canvas, *The Feischi Conspiracy*, to the Salon of 1874 was refused by the Salon Jury of that year. This rejection of a work by an artist whom most critics felt should have been designated *hors concours* years before caused something of a scandal, and the feminist critic Maria Deraismes called the refusal of the artist's work part of the all-male jury's "system of discouragement aimed at diminishing the number of women artists."³⁸

Yet Marcello was committed to having her work accepted by the Salon jury and exhibited within official venues, and she continued to divide her time between painting and sculpture. Her most significant sculpted portraits of the 1870s were those depicting Thiers and Carpeaux. Marcello was finally recognized for her portrait bust of her cousin, the Baroness of Keffenbrinck (née the Countess de Kielmansegg, [figs. 2-25 and 2-26](#)), and was awarded a fourth-class medal for this work at the exhibition of 1876, her last Salon.



Fig. 2-24. Marcello. *Drawing for the bust of General Milans del Bosch I Mauri*. Circa 1868. Graphite drawing. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.

^{37.} Jean-Jacques Berthier, "Deux Bustes de Marcello, Le Général Milans del Bosc - Le Sculpteur Carpeaux," *Fribourg Artistique à travers les âges* (1909): n.p. "Ce général, un peu débraillé ne sera pas très fort, sans doute, en large tactique; il n'apparaît pas assez réfléchi et concentré pour cela; mais il vient d'apercevoir l'ennemi là-bas: déjà il le fusille du regard, et puisque l'ennemi ne vient pas, il ira le chercher; [...] Ce n'est pas une tête à idées générales et complexes; c'est une tête à idée unique, simple, facilement fanatique. Ce n'est pas du raisonnement: c'est de l'énergie exclusive; la nervosité, la maigreur, la tension des traits ne laissent pas de doute à ce sujet. Ce buste rapidement ébauché, est incontestablement ressemblant au point de vue moral, comme au point de vue physique."

^{38.} Maria Deraismes, "Les Femmes au Salon," *L'Avenir des femmes* 142 (3 September 1876): 135. "C'est encore là qu'il y a lieu de se scandaliser de la partialité du jury. Madame Marcello, dont tant d'œuvres ont fait sensation dans les salons précédents, n'a jamais vu sanctionner par la commission des récompenses, les approbations que lui avait prodiguées la critique. C'est évidemment de la part de ces messieurs un système de découragement organisé dans le but de diminuer le nombre des femmes artistes."



Fig. 2-26. Marcello, *Drawing for the Portrait of the Baroness Keffenbrink-Ascheraden*. 1876.
Drawing in red crayon and pencil heightened with white.
Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.



Fig. 2-25. Marcello, *Portrait of the Baroness Keffenbrink-Ascheraden*. 1876.
Period photograph of original marble Salon submission.
Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.

1872: PORTRAIT OF THIERS

Marie-Louis-Joseph-Adolphe Thiers (fig. 2-27, 1797-1877) was a French politician, journalist, historian, and founder and first president of the Third Republic (a government which spanned the years 1871-1940). Among his most famous works are a ten-volume history of the French Revolution (*Histoire de la révolution française*, 1823-27), a twenty-volume *Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire* (1845-62), and contributions to the journals *Le Constitutionnel* and *Le National*. Thiers also published Salon reviews in 1822 and 1824, saluting the work of the young Delacroix, and was something of an art collector as well.³⁹ After serving in numerous political capacities beginning in 1830, Thiers helped to elect Prince Louis-Napoléon to the presidency of France; they later had opposing political views and became estranged. During the French insurrection known as the Commune (March to May 1871), Thiers helped to defeat the communards, thus destroying many years of political activism by French Socialist and workers' movements. In August of 1871 Thiers became the first president of the Third Republic and tried to win the support of monarchists, which he ultimately never obtained. Monarchists hated Thiers and labeled him the "worst enemy that France has ever had."⁴⁰ Left-wing supporters considered him the enemy of social reform. He was accused by others of flooding the streets of Paris with the blood of the communards and innocent bystanders. While he was probably the most powerful and wealthy politician of his epoch, by 1873 Thiers had gained a bad reputation on both sides of the political spectrum that he never truly overcame, neither during his lifetime nor after his death. Thiers resigned from the presidency in 1873 and died suddenly five years later, in September of 1877.

Although Marcello remained very close friends with Thiers and mentioned him numerous times in her memoirs, she also aligned herself with the court of Napoléon III. In spite of the fact that she was quite knowledgeable about world politics and affairs, she did not publicly choose sides with any political group or among her friends. Switzerland was (and remains) proud of its neutrality and Marcello seemed to have employed a neutral position similar to that of her homeland, particularly in relationships with important acquaintances.

Her portrait of Thiers (fig. 2-28), carved in Carrara marble and conserved today at the Fondation Marcello, was begun in 1871, the first year of his presidency. He is portrayed with a furrowed brow, lips slightly parted and eyes averted upwards, all contributing to the loftiness of the pose. The treatment of the hair, with its upswept wave and



Fig. 2-27. André-Adolphe-Eugène Disdéri.
Louis-Adolphe Thiers.
Not dated. Photograph. Collection of the author.

39. See Charles Blanc, *Collections d'objets d'art de M. Thiers légués au musée du Louvre* (Paris: Jouaust et Sigaux, 1884) and Louis Réau, *M. Thiers amateur d'art et collectionneur* (Paris: Lahure, 1921).

40. See Pierre Guiral, *Adolphe Thiers* (Paris: Fayard, 1986), 7-8. "Les bonapartistes ne veulent pas admettre l'ennemi obstiné de l'Empire; les monarchistes ne lui pardonnent pas d'avoir fondé la république. "M. Thiers est le plus grand ennemi que la France ait jamais eu », n'hésite pas à dire le duc d'Aumale."



Fig. 2-29. Large-format photograph of Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux, with dedication to Marcello. 1874. Photograph. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.



Fig. 2-28. Marcello. Portrait of Louis-Adolphe Thiers. 1872. Marble. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg [S 74].

long sideburns, resembles that in other portraits and photos of Thiers. The bareness of the neck and partial chest suggests nudity, thus classicizing the figure and underscoring his *hauteur*. Without aging the figure too strongly, Marcello represents Thiers with the soft, sagging jowls of a man of seventy-three years, the age of the politician at the time of the portrait. The socle base adds an element of elegance to the presentation.

Thiers, unlike so many political figures of his day, was unaccustomed to posing. It has been suggested that Marcello called him the worst model she had ever had, and complained that he “could not stay still in one place, speaking and gesticulating without end.”⁴¹ The work was, understandably, due to political reasons, never exhibited in Marcello’s (or Thiers’s) lifetime, and thus was never reviewed or commented upon by contemporary critics. Not until 1903 did someone document the creation of the work and speak of it critically, and even then a brief sanitization of Thiers’s character was required:

*Of others [who] have represented for us the admirable historian, the sensible sociologist, the politician who saw so marvelously clearly in 1859, 1866, and 1870, the orator who for five hours entertained questions from the most tiring, the most rebellious of audiences, a chamber of deputies: here [in Marcello’s sculpture], we have this Thiers, who was called le Petit Thiers. The work of our artist is one of eloquence and of true perfection, and we prove, with the heads in terra cotta and also the uncast bust of Carpeaux dying, and of some Spanish general [i.e., Bosch], also conserved in Givisiez, that the Duchess Colonna had an incomparable talent for seizing and reproducing almost instantaneously a physiognomy or an attitude.*⁴²

1875: PORTRAIT OF CARPEAUX

Among Marcello’s most sensitive portraits was that of Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux (fig. 2-29, 1827-1875). She seems to have met him in Rome in 1861 and they began to correspond with each other by the summer of 1862.⁴³ Their mutual interest in Michelangelo sparked a friendship that would last until Carpeaux’s death in 1875. They considered each other as equals and their professional relationship never faltered. They shared praticiens, accepted imperial portrait and government commissions at the same time in their careers (including the sculptures of the imperial family, the Empress Eugenie, and the commissions for the Opéra Garnier), and always supported each other’s endeavors.

41. Marcello’s opinion of Thiers as a model is recounted in Jean-Jacques Berthier, “Le Buste de Thiers,” *Fribourg Artistique à travers les âges* (1903): n.p. “M. Thiers est le plus mauvais modèle que j’aie jamais eu: il pose très mal, ou plutôt il ne pose pas du tout. Il ne peut rester en place, discute, gesticule sans cesse. Sa physionomie si mobile change à chaque instant d’expression.” This statement is also found in Alcantara, 147. Both Berthier and Alcantara claimed that Marcello told this to an “ami commun,” but neither author cites the original source.

42. Berthier, 1903. “D’autres nous ont représenté l’admirable historien, le sociologue avisé, le politique qui a vu si merveilleusement clair en 1859, en 1866 et en 1870, l’orateur qui intéressait pendant cinq heures de suite sur les questions les plus fatigantes, le plus rebelle des auditoires, une chambre de députés: ici, nous avons ce Thiers, qu’on a appelé le *petit Thiers*. L’œuvre de notre artiste est d’une verve et d’une vérité parfaites, et nous prouve [sic], avec les têtes en terre cuite et encore inédites de Carpeaux expirant, et de je ne sais quel général espagnol, conservées également à Givisiez, que la duchesse Colonna avait un incomparable talent pour saisir et reproduire presque instantanément une physionomie ou une attitude.”

43. Although most sources place their meeting in 1861, Alcantara cites a letter from Carpeaux to the Duchess Colonna dated 3 September 1860. See Alcantara, 44. However, no such letter with that date is to be found among Carpeaux’s original correspondence at the Fondation Marcello. Ernest Chesneau cites a letter of Carpeaux to Bruno Chérier written in 1861 where Carpeaux mentions meeting Marcello and visiting the Vatican Museums with her. The letter was published in Chesneau, *Le Statuaire J.-B. Carpeaux: Sa vie et son œuvre* (Paris: A. Quantin, 1880), 73. Henriette Bessis treated many letters between Carpeaux and Marcello in her article “Duo avec Carpeaux,” in *Connaissance des arts* 277 (March 1975): 84-91.



Fig. 2-31. Carpeaux. *Portrait of the Duchess Castiglione Colonna (Marcello)*. 1864. Plaster tondo relief in red wax mounted on cardboard. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.



Fig. 2-30. Carpeaux. *Portrait of the Duchess Castiglione Colonna (Marcello)*. 1864. Charcoal drawing heightened with white gouache on beige paper. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.

In 1864 Marcello invited Carpeaux to Givisiez, where he produced a number of drawings of her and her mother (see above discussion of the latter work). A charcoal drawing of Marcello made by Carpeaux during his stay accentuates her delicate features and neckline, ornamented by a pearl earring (fig. 2-30). Another drawing shows Marcello working on a clay model (see fig. 2-1). A sketchbook used by Carpeaux is conserved, along with these images, at the Fondation Marcello. Sometime later, possibly in 1869, he produced a red wax relief portrait of Marcello (fig. 2-31). After his visit to Givisiez, he wrote of her to a friend, "I feel as if I have the height of a giant, a courage that touches upon despair, and I say of this woman, a flower, a dream, who has the power to transform us also, what a prodigy!"⁴⁴

Marcello found herself, in the late spring of 1874, faced with a terrible reality: her colleague and long-time friend Carpeaux was dying. She visited him in the hospital in May where they spoke about their days in Rome, a visit he greatly appreciated, noting in a letter to her that "your visit and our conversation yesterday evening had reminded me of happier times, also of which I had kept an excellent impression and for which I thank you very tenderly."⁴⁵ On 7 June Marcello reported to her mother that Carpeaux had been diagnosed with cancer (of the bladder).⁴⁶ Faced with her friend's imminent death, Marcello decided, rather than grieve for him before he died, to exalt him instead while he was still alive.

Begun in 1875 in the studio of the artist Bruno Chérier (1819-1880) where Carpeaux lived while estranged from his wife, Marcello's portrait of the sculptor posed him in a way similar to his drawn portrait of her from more than a decade earlier (compare figs. 2-30 and 2-32), with an emphasis on profile and a strong pose of head and neck. Her portrait of Carpeaux is more classicized than that of Bosch, as the sculptor is shown shirtless with chest and shoulders bared. Posed with his head tilted back and slightly upwards, his eyes deeply carved and lidded, focusing into the distance, the bust shows Carpeaux with a thoughtful and pensive countenance. His irises are deeply incised, giving him a strong glance and a lively expression. The muscles in his neck are visible and curve into the throat, drawing the viewer's eyes into the tendons between the clavicle. Carpeaux's face, particularly the around cheeks, is shown drawn and shrunken, possibly as a result of his illness. Marcello's plaster sketch is covered in tool marks and handprints; she inscribed it by cutting into its base with a carving instrument, signing it "Carpeaux par Marcello." The bust is striking in its capturing of the spirit of a nude, heroic man

44. Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux to the Marquis de Piennes, dated 27 January 1864, Archives Valenciennes, as quoted in Anne Pinget, "Marcello," in *Dictionnaire du Second Empire*, Jean Tulard, ed. (Paris: Fayard, 1995): 772. "Je me sens une taille de géant, un courage qui touche au désespoir, et dire que c'est une femme, une fleur, un rêve, qui nous transforme ainsi, quel prodige!"

45. Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux to Adèle Colonna (Marcello), not dated (c. May 1874), Archives FM. "Votre visite et notre conversation d'hier soir m'ont rappelé des temps bien heureux, aussi en ai-je conservé une excellente impression dont je vous remercie bien tendrement." Marcello mentioned visiting Carpeaux and speaking about Rome in a letter to her mother dated 22 May 1874 (Archives FM).

46. Adèle Colonna (Marcello) to her mother Lucie d'Affry, dated 7 June 1874, Archives FM. "J'ai vu hier Carpeaux, consterné car le pauvre homme a entendu sa condamnation à mort un [illisible, étonné?] chirurgien le lui a dit, c'est un cancer paraît-il."



Fig. 2-32. Marcello. Portrait of Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux ("Carpeaux by Marcello"). 1875. Plaster. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg [S 2].

clinging to life, his hair piled atop his head and his beard and mustache loosely drooping. Marcello's admiration for her friend and colleague exudes from the bust. It is also interesting to note that her bust of Christ, entitled *Ecce Homo*, completed in the same year as her bust of Carpeaux, have similar gestures in the turn of the neck and positioning of the torso.

Marcello's portrait of Carpeaux dying was not, however, unique for the period. Such images of Carpeaux dying or dead began to appear in 1875 and persisted for decades, culminating with the painting entitled *The Death of Carpeaux* (1892) by Albert Pierre Maignan (1845-1908), which earned him a Salon medal. Chérier's own representation of Carpeaux was designed at the same time as Marcello's bust of the artist. Additionally, Victor Bernard (1817- after 1892), with the help of Carpeaux himself, produced a terra-cotta portrait of the same subject, which Barbedienne later edited in bronze (fig. 2-33).⁴⁷ Bernard's work, sculpted in Nice and completed in May of 1875, is posed and treated in a manner opposed to that of Marcello's sculpture. While Marcello's portrait of Carpeaux is conceived with the artist's head valiantly directed upwards, Bernard's *Carpeaux malade* is sculpted with the head posed downwards with a distinctly sad expression, emphasized by the downturned eyes. Carpeaux sorrowfully acknowledged the depressing mood of Bernard's sculpture, saying of it "it is not a pose either academic or martial, it is very sad to look at; but what do you want? I am as it is."⁴⁸ Although some elements are shared between the two busts (such as the heavy beard and moustache, the free-flowing hair, and the suggestion of nudity), the two works are opposed in their treatment of the mood of the figure.

By this time in Marcello's career, critics began to vocalize their dismay that she had not received any honors or medals over the years. After her successful display of three marble busts in the Salon of 1875 (the year she was working on the bust of Carpeaux), one of these critics, Théodore Véron, expressed his bewilderment and concern:

My astonishment intensifies all the more in light of the omission of the designation "hors concours" [outside the competition] for this woman artist, of an indisputable superiority. – What is the meaning of this omission? Because in short, if the copyist of watercolors, Madame Princess Mathilde, usurped a medal, assuredly Marcello, this true artist, deserved at least the cross, as does Miss Rosa Bonheur, indeed, in

47. For a history of Bernard's bust of Carpeaux, see Michel Poletti and Alain Richarme, *Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux, sculpteur, catalogue raisonné de l'œuvre édité* (Paris: Expressions contemporaines/Les Éditions de l'amateur, 2003), 172-73.

48. Chesneau, 177-78. "Ce n'est pas une pose académique ni martiale, c'est bien triste à voir; mais que veux-tu? Je suis comme ça."



Fig. 2-33. Victor Bernard (and Carpeaux). *Portrait of Carpeaux (Carpeaux âgé)*. 1875. Terra cotta. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. Photo: Réunion des Musées Nationaux/ Art Resource, NY.

soul and conscience, Marcello gives to us, since the Empire, a collection of exceptional works; I will go so far as to state that this woman, an original sculptor, with a chisel full of poetry and elevated imagination, occupies truly one of the most elevated places, one of the first ranks among all of our contemporary sculptors. [...] I hope that the republic will be more just and will reward this exceptional talent [with the designation hors concours]. What a condemnation of the juries!!!⁴⁹

Although she never exhibited her 1875 bust of Carpeaux, she did display three marble busts, well received in that year's Salon. Anatole de Montaiglon, writing for *Gazette des beaux-arts* was pleased with the submissions but was not overly generous:

*The bust of Christ by Madam Marcello is of an effeminate sentimentalism which would be more appreciated in Italy than in France; but her strong and beautiful head of a Roman woman with a ribbon in her hair [La Belle Romaine], and above all her Phœbe, with a garland of flowers, of which the fine head is reminiscent of Coustou, are relatively more simple, and by the same token more sculptural, than the busts where she is inspired by overly elaborate coiffures and bizarre difficulties of certain drawings by Michelangelo.*⁵⁰

The critic Adriani was more charitable in discussing these works by Marcello which included *Ecce Homo* (also known as *Le Christ or Redemptor Mundi*, fig. 2-34), *Phoebe* (fig. 2-35), and what seems to have been *La Belle Romaine*, in his review published one day before the opening of the Salon in *Le Moniteur des arts*:

*The Duchess Colonna (Marcello) [...] send[s] to the Salon three magnificent busts, three very diverse types: A Christ full of energy, a true work by a master, whose features retain a nobility in suffering due perhaps to the Spanish character of the head; a Roman Woman [La Belle Romaine] whose expression of haughty cruelty recalls, under the modern costume, the daughter of the Caesars; finally a very Parisian type, full of grace and impish delicacy, a true jewel of art [Phoebe], whose shoulders have all the suppleness of the modeling of a sculpture by Clodion.*⁵¹

Marcello's bust of Carpeaux was not well known during the period. She did not often exhibit plasters or terra cottas at the Paris Salon exhibitions, even though it was

49. Théodore Véron, *De l'Art et des artistes de mon temps* (Paris and Poitiers: Librairie Henri Oudin, 1875), 145-6. "Mon étonnement redouble encore bien plus en voyant l'omission «hors concours» à cette dame artiste, d'une supériorité incontestable. – Que signifie donc cet oubli? Car enfin, si la copiste d'aquarelles, madame la princesse Mathilde, usurpait une médaille, assurément Marcello, cette véritable artiste, méritait au moins la croix, comme Mlle Rosa Bonheur, attendu que, en âme et conscience, Marcello nous donne, depuis l'Empire, une collection d'œuvres hors ligne; j'affirme même que cette dame, sculpteur original, au ciseau plein de poésie et d'imagination élevée, occupe véritablement une des places les plus élevées, un des premiers rangs parmi tous nos sculpteurs contemporains. [...] J'espère bien que la république sera plus juste, et récompensera ce talent hors concours. Quelle condamnation des jurys!"

50. Anatole de Montaiglon, "Le Salon de 1875," *Gazette des beaux-arts* (July 1875): 124. "Le buste de Christ de Mme Marcello est d'un sentimentalisme efféminé qui plairait plus en Italie qu'en France; mais sa tête de forte et belle Romaine avec un ruban dans les cheveux, et surtout sa Phœbé, avec une guirlande de fleurs, dont la tête fine se souvient de Coustou, sont relativement plus simples, et par là même plus sculpturales, que les bustes où elle s'inspirait des coiffures contournées et bizarrement pénibles de certains dessins de Michel-Ange."

51. Adriani, "Courrier," *Moniteur des arts* (30 April 1875): 1. "La duchesse Colonna (Marcello) [...] vient d'envoyer au Salon trois magnifiques bustes, trois types très divers: un Christ plein d'énergie, vrai morceau de maître, dont les traits conservent dans la souffrance une noblesse due peut-être au caractère espagnol de la tête; une *Femme romaine*, dont l'expression de cruauté altière rappelle, sous le costume moderne, la fille des Césars; enfin, un type tout parisien, plein de grâce et de délicatesse mutine, vrai bijou d'art, dont les épaules ont toute la suppléance de modelé d'un Clodion."



Fig. 2-34. Marcello. *Ecce Homo* (also known as *Le Christ and Redeptor Mundi*) 1875. Period photograph of original marble shown at the Salon of 1875. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.

acceptable for sculptors to do so. She completed the plaster bust of Carpeaux during the summer of 1875, after the opening of the Salon, and she did not exhibit it after his death in the Salon of 1876, where Bernard's version was shown. There were no critical reviews published concerning Marcello's bust of Carpeaux simply because very few people had seen it.

Offered to the Musée du Louvre by Countess Lucie d'Affry in 1885, the portrait of Carpeaux was refused by the museum and has remained to this day in Fribourg. In 1966 the Fondation Marcello allowed a bronze cast to be made from the original plaster bust of Carpeaux in their collection; this bronze work is now on view at the Musée d'art et d'histoire in Fribourg. Apart from its permanent display at the Musée d'art et d'histoire, the bronze was also included in the exhibition *Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux, sa famille et ses amis*, held in Courbevoie at the Musée Roybet-Fould in 1975-1976, where it was shown with Chérier's portrait.

Portraiture remained an important subject matter for Marcello throughout her career. Her goal in creating these works was almost never to sell them. Instead, she hoped to capture the essence of a person's character that could be sensed long after the subject was gone from the material world. In his introduction to his book on portraiture, David Lubin defines a portrait as just that, "an interpretation of a specific, delimited human identity," which is achieved through the "depiction and analysis of the behavior, appearance, and 'essence of character' that best make that particular identity decipherable."⁵² By providing a glimpse of the traits of her subjects through their representation in stone or earth, her sculptural portraits transcend the slavish, scientific elements of pure likenesses and they provide a multi-dimensional image of those she portrayed, and included traces of her own feelings towards her subjects.

In the next chapter, "The Female as Hero in Marcello's Mature Work, 1863-1876," her most advanced and significant works, some mentioned only briefly here, will be explored in detail, as well as the way in which she marketed her works and explored new techniques and subject matter. Her continued interest in depicting powerful, heroic female figures from history, literature, mythology, and operas will also be explored, as well as her contributions to what would later become the artistic movement of Symbolism.

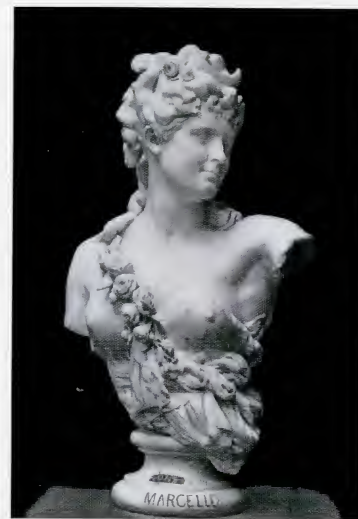


Fig. 2-35. Marcello. *Phoebe (Portrait of Mélanie de Pourtales)*. 1875.
Period photograph (heliogravure) of original marble shown at the Salon of 1875.
Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.

52. David M. Lubin, *Act of Portrayal: Eakins, Sargent, James* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985), 3.



Fig. 3-1. Marcello. *La Petite Madone*. 1864. Marble.
Fondation Marcello, Fribourg. [S 27]

CHAPTER THREE

THE FEMALE AS HERO IN MARCELLO'S MATURE WORK, 1863-1876

"To believe in the heroic makes heroes."

Benjamin Disraëli¹

Two important themes run through Marcello's sculptural *œuvre*: the portrayal of women as heroic figures, and the portrayal of characters from music. This chapter will consider the former, while the following chapter will consider the latter. Both of these themes are important to the history of the Symbolist movement in Europe, and Marcello's role in the realization of this movement will be discussed in both chapters. Symbolism, a literary, musical and visual movement, was centered in Paris and is usually dated to the period 1885 through 1895. Although much of Marcello's sculptural work was completed before 1876, that is, before the movement is believed to have begun, within this chapter her work will be discussed in the context of Symbolist ideas and themes. As will be seen, Marcello's choice of subject matter and her interest in legends and mythology, religion, sexuality, and, to some extent, androgyny, decadence, and mysticism, places her as a forerunner of the Symbolist movement, which did not officially begin until after her death.

Women artists are rarely discussed as having played a role in Symbolism, in part because much of Symbolist art portrayed women as evil beings, temptresses, and vessels of sin. Negative images of women were abundant, as has been discussed by Bram Dijkstra in his now canonical text *Idols of Perversity: Fantasies of Feminine Evil in Fin-de-Siècle Culture* (1986). On the rare occasions when women were shown as beings to be admired, it was often through the depiction of male fascination with them and fear of them. Although other Swiss artists, such as the painters Arnold Böcklin (1827-1901) and Ferdinand Hodler (1853-1918), are today considered to have been major figures in the movement, Marcello has not previously been placed within its sphere of influence even though in her lifetime she held equal (or greater) celebrity in Paris, where Symbolism was later to flourish. Except for the few serious studies of the work of Camille Claudel (1864-1943), women artists have been left out of the history of Symbolism.²

1. Benjamin Disraëli, (1804-1881), *Coningsby*, Bk iii, Ch. 1, as quoted in Burton Stevenson, ed., *The Home Book of Quotations Classical and Modern*, Third Edition (New York: Dodd, Mead, and Co., 1937), 895.

2. Such studies include Claudine Mitchell, "Intellectuality and Sexuality: Camille Claudel, the *Fin-de-Siècle* Sculptress," *Art History* 12:4 (December 1989): 417-47; Reine-Marie Paris and Arnaud de la Chapelle, *L'Œuvre de Camille Claudel: Catalogue Raisonné*, 2nd Edition (Paris: Biro, 1991); *Camille Claudel*, exh. cat., (Martigny: Fondation Pierre Gianadda, 1990); Jacques Cassar, *Dossier Camille Claudel* (Paris: Séguier, 1987); and *Camille Claudel* (1864-1943) exh. cat., (Paris: Musée Rodin, 1984); Patricia Mathews, *Passionate Discontent: Creativity, Gender, and French Symbolist Art* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 64-85. Kristen Frederickson, "Carving out a place: gendered critical descriptions of Camille Claudel and her sculpture," *Word & Image* 12:2 (April-June 1996): 161-174.

In connection with Symbolist themes, it is important to discuss the depiction of heroes in nineteenth-century art. A definition of a heroic genre or “heroic manner” in sculpture will be developed in this chapter, along with critical analysis of how such heroic sculptures were received during the period, particularly when the artist was female. This discussion will include works that Marcello herself deemed “*héroïque*” in her writing, in addition to those figures in her oeuvre that she obviously championed but did not formally label as heroes. Evidence for the existence of a heroic genre that included women (without debasing them) will also be explored.

THE FEMALE HERO

Undoubtedly a heroic genre or manner, that is, a body of subject matter based in the depiction of valiant and fearless figures, did exist and was quite popular during the nineteenth century. The profusion of public sculptures depicting both victorious and fallen military figures in Europe and America alone testifies to this fact. Many questions concerning gender arise, however, in this discussion. Can female figures ever be read as heroes – that is, was the concept of “woman as hero” in the nineteenth century acceptable or even believable? What classifies as a “heroic” figure in a work of art? Whether the person in question is inherently “good” or “bad” is a subject for separate discussion; one should simply recall the words of the Duke François de la Rochefoucauld (1613-1680), who said “there are heroes in evil as well as in good.” (“*Il y a des héros en mal comme en bien.*”)³ Can we provide a definition of the term “hero” that would correspond to nineteenth-century ideas and biases as well as our contemporary views on the subject? Which of Marcello’s own sculptures did she specifically consider “heroic” and what characteristics of the hero are evident in her other works?

Not every important female figure in art or general history, religion, or mythology can be seen as unambiguously heroic. Personifications seem to qualify as images of heroic female figures, yet they have always been understood as the embodiment or incarnation of something other than themselves. “Marianne,” the embodiment of the French Republic whose image first appeared in France in the eighteenth century, signifies the motherland rather than a real woman with heroic characteristics. Similarly, an image of the Biblical Virgin Mary, an extremely prevalent figure in the history of art, can be seen as having heroic qualities on the surface, but still does not qualify. Canonical artists such as Giotto di Bondone (c.1267/75-1337) and Cimabue (Cenni Bencivieni di Pepo, c.1240-

3. François de la Rochefoucauld, *Maximes*, no. 185, as quoted in *Dictionnaire des citations françaises* (Paris: Larousse-Bordas, 1998), 331, and Stevenson, 896.

c.1302) often depicted the Virgin as a heroic figure during the Byzantine and early Renaissance periods (she is often shown larger than other figures or she is in some other way glorified during these artistic periods). If we define a hero as a legendary, mythological, or religious figure who displays strength and courage in the face of great difficulty, then the Virgin seems to correspond.⁴ Traditionally she faced a challenge presented to her without fear, i.e., agreeing to accept the role of mother to the son of God, even though she was aware that the child would be persecuted and ultimately sentenced to death. But the purpose of the myths surrounding the entire cult of the Virgin that were promoted by the Roman Catholic Church for centuries was to create an obedient, feminine religious figure for female worshippers to emulate.⁵

In representations from the first millennium after the death of Christ, the Virgin takes on heroic characteristics for theological reasons. In the early days of Christianity, she had to be recognized as a glorified, heroic and iconic figure to bring worshippers to follow her example and to help them recognize her in images. After 1300, this heroicizing of the Virgin was no longer necessary, and, under the influence of Franciscan spirituality, she was humanized, and cast as a mother like any other who looks lovingly at her son. That established, although there are many examples in the history of art that depict the Virgin as strong, powerful, and larger than life, the church (that is, the main patron of these works of art) promoted her alternate characteristics of quiet acceptance, piety, resignation and virtue. Through this promotion the Virgin has more often been portrayed, save for the heroic nature of Byzantine and early Renaissance iconic representations, as a quiet, humble, somewhat sad figure with no real control over her own destiny. She was often a figure to be pitied, rather than worshipped as a hero or goddess, as abundant *pietà* images suggest.⁶

Artists throughout the centuries endowed the Virgin with the expressions and demeanor expected of every good and pious female. Even Marcello, who made a conscious effort to strengthen and heroicize the appearance of all of her female subjects, created a depiction of the Virgin (*La Petite Madone*, 1864, fig. 3-1) that exhibits the usual traits of modesty and subservience. As successful as the sculpture may be, however, the lowered chin and eyes of the figure are read immediately by the discerning viewer as a code for such characteristics as humility, submission, and restraint that are not typical of definitions of heroism.

4. It should be noted immediately that I will use the term "hero" to refer to both male and female figures, as the term "heroine" is, in English, somewhat dated and has been problematic for feminist scholars in recent years.

5. See Marina Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (New York: Knopf, 1976).

6. For a discussion of the term *pietà* and the various definitions associated with the term, see Rona Goffen, *Renaissance Rivals: Michelangelo, Leonardo, Raphael, Titian* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003), 104.



Fig. 3-3. Marcello. *Drawing for the bust of Bianca Capello*. Circa 1863. Graphite drawing. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.



Fig. 3-2. Marcello. *Bianca Capello*. 1863. (This carving, after 1879.) Marble. Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg [M 1]. Photograph by Bruno Jarret, Paris.

The question of the female hero has been treated in other disciplines. Angela Hobbs, in her text *Plato and the Hero: Courage, Manliness and the Impersonal Good*, has written that in the ancient world terms such as *andreia*, or “courage” in Greek, connoted masculinity from the very beginning.⁷ In her discussion of male and female virtue, Hobbs makes the point that virtuous behavior, which is inherently connected to courage and heroic actions, was different for each sex. A virtuous man, according to Homer and other ancient writers, will help his friends and defeat his enemies; a virtuous woman is obedient to her husband and keeps a clean house.⁸ Childbirth, the Virgin’s claim to heroism as described in the case above, was never seen as a heroic deed, no matter how life threatening or important to the continuation of humanity. As Hobbs explains:

*The criterion [for heroism] cannot simply have been the risk of pain or death, or women would have also been regarded as having a strong claim to the virtue, given that the risks of childbirth were extremely high: witness Medea’s heartfelt plea that she would prefer to stand three times in the front line of battle rather than give birth once. ... Th[e] superior nobility [of a male warrior] presumably results from the fact that the male warrior is perceived as saving an entire community, rather than simply adding to its numbers; there may also be a feeling that courage in battle is to some extent a matter of choice, whereas a woman in labour has no option but to go through with it.*⁹

The author goes on to discuss the idea that “maleness” is embedded in the ancient Greek language. This is true of the English language as well, and as proof of this we have two words for “hero” that are gender specific (*i.e., hero and heroine*). This is curious coming from a language that has relatively few gendered words and terms.

It is interesting to note that Joseph Campbell’s influential study *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*, published in 1949, does not consider the idea of the female as hero at all. According to his study, in religion and mythology women fall into four categories: unattainable goddess; evil temptress; “cosmic woman;” and hero’s prize. Campbell does not discuss the possibility of a female hero, and it seems certain that none of these thousand faces is ever female. This is certainly connected to the long-standing idea stemming back to the Old Testament figure of Eve in Genesis that woman is the source of original sin, disobedience, and damnation, an idea certainly exploited by Symbolist artists at

7. Angela Hobbs, *Plato and the Hero: Courage, Manliness and the Impersonal Good* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 69 *passim*.

8. Hobbs, 68-69.

9. Hobbs, 69-70.



Fig. 3-5. Marcello. *Portrait of Madam Duchess of San Cesario*. 1863. Wax with traces of paint. Collection Audouy, Paris. Photograph copyright Thomas Heenocque.

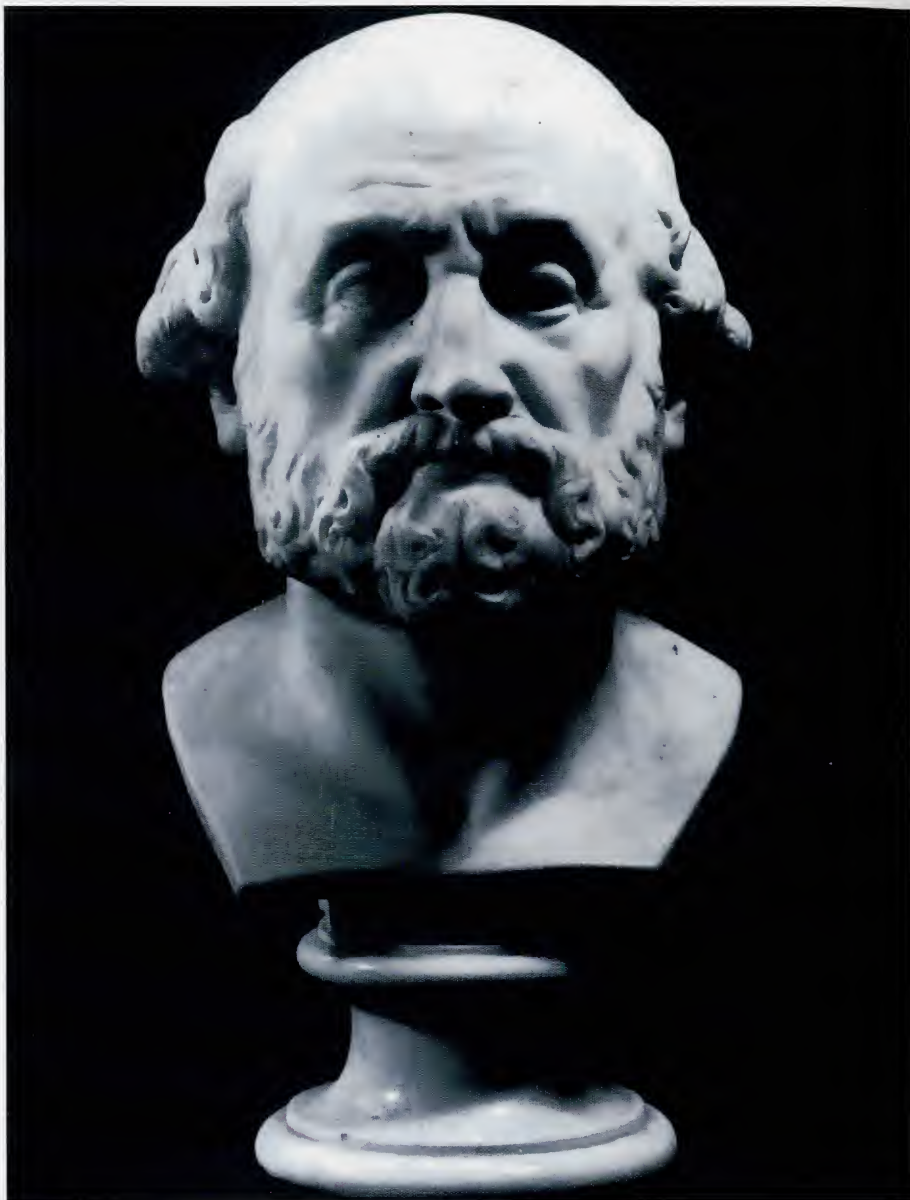


Fig. 3-4. Marcello. *Portrait of Count Gaston de Nicolaj*. 1863. Marble. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg [S 6].

the end of the nineteenth century. It is worth remembering that stories of heroic females written in Biblical times were later often relegated to the Apocrypha to keep them out of the Biblical canon; the best known of them remains the Jewish princess and defeater of Holofernes, Judith. One could easily apply Campbell's categories for women to traditional Symbolist art of the late nineteenth century.

The *femme fatale* character, heavily promoted at the end of the nineteenth century by Symbolist artists in particular, endorsed the idea of the female as a vessel of sin. Such images were solidified in art at the *fin-de-siècle* by numerous artists in Europe, and culminated in the works of such visual artists as the Belgian Félicien Rops (1833-1898), the French artists Gustave Moreau (1826-1898) and Odilon Redon (1840-1916), and in literature by Joris-Karl Huysmans (1848-1907) and Émile Zola (1840-1902). *Nana*, from Zola's epic *Les Rougon-Macquart* series, became the model for many images of prostitutes, the real and pentultimate female of temptation and disease at the *fin-de-siècle*. The idea that a woman could embody the heroic and traditionally "masculine" qualities of strength, wisdom, control, and courage, without being sinful or diseased, was not often discussed or promoted, particularly by male artists. Women were either hyper-pious or had completely low morals, and there were no women in between. When one studies the sculptures that Marcello produced between the years of 1863 and 1876, however, a definite attempt to shift the way women were traditionally depicted and perceived becomes evident. Her female figures are neither angels nor whores, and because of this they have depth of character and "appear" more like men. Her works are the female alternative to the work of later male Symbolist artists, who according to Patricia Mathews, "took on the creative personae of feminized masculinity, only to obfuscate it with masculinist rhetoric and imagery."¹⁰

"MES BUSTES HÉROÏQUES" - THE FEMALE AS HERO IN REPRESENTATIONS OF HISTORICAL WOMEN: Bianca Capello and Two Busts of Marie-Antoinette

In heroic sculpture, in addition to the subject's need for a noble and strong character, the expression of that figure should be depicted in a grand manner, in which temperament is altogether evident. Marcello did in fact consider some of her sculptures as heroic and she thought that a subject's expression was the most important characteristic of heroic busts. This is done through the positioning of the body in a firm pose with an upright head and firm glance. Writing from Madrid, Marcello sent her mother a letter on 1 November 1868 describing her admiration for Spain, which she was leaving to return to Rome; although

10. Mathews, 1.

the letter contains much information regarding the politics and military upheaval of Spain at that time, the letter also contains a line in which the artist characterizes some of her recent works as “heroic”:

I write to you again from Madrid. It seems extraordinary that I cannot leave it, and yet it is very natural when one considers that if in Rome there is Michelangelo, there is here a whole school of marvels, and that these marvels resurface exactly in the sense of what I make, or would want to make, that is to say, the most expressive feeling of realism, dominates Spanish Art, it has always haunted me deep inside, because you know that my heroic busts, the Gorgone, the Bianca, the Marie-Antoinettes, have some merit only by their expression.¹¹

Of the sculptures she singled out as heroic, two represented historical figures. The first, *Bianca Capello*, was shown in the Salon of 1863 (figs. 3-2 and 3-3) along with two other sculptures, the *Portrait of Count Gaston de Nicolay* (fig. 3-4) and the *Portrait of the Duchess San Cesario* (fig. 3-5). The second, Marcello’s busts of Marie-Antoinette, will be discussed below. In 1863, it was the *Bianca Capello* that gained considerable attention with critics and collectors, and, given the sculpture’s historical and literary subject, was the most popular of her submissions for that year. The bust combines the soft features of a female’s face, neck and chest with an elaborate hairstyle, headdress, diadem, and an ornate costume with a central brooch. Additionally, the Renaissance figure is shown with a stern, straight glance.

Bianca Capello was the only one of these entries that was accompanied by a historical description. Marcello submitted the following brief explanation of the bust for publication in the Salon *livret*:

Born into a noble Venetian family, Bianca Capello ran away at the age of eighteen, in the company of a young Florentine, taking with her the family jewels. As a refugee in Florence, she became the mistress of Francesco de’ Medici, feigned pregnancy, got rid of her accomplices in her fraud, and was married to her lover. Having become the Grand Duchess of Tuscany, Bianca Capello tried to poison her brother-in-law, the Cardinal de’ Medici, but when her husband ate the dish she had prepared, she resigned herself to dying with him.¹²

11. Letter from Madrid from Adèle Colonna to her mother Lucie, Marquise de Maillardo, 1 November 1868. Archives Foundation Marcello, Fribourg, Switzerland (hereafter Archives FM). “Je vous écris encore de Madrid. Il semble extraordinaire que je ne le puisse quitter, et pourtant c’est bien naturel quand on pense que si à Rome il y a Michel-Ange, il y a ici toute une école de merveilles, et que ces merveilles renitent justement dans le sens de ce que je fais, ou voudrais faire, c’est à dire que le sentiment de la réalité la plus expressive domine [dans] l’art espagnol, et m’a toujours hantée, en mon petit particulier, car vous savez que mes bustes héroïques, la gorgone [sic, lacks capitization], la bianca [sic], les Marie-Antoinette n’ont quelque mérite que par leur expression.” All translations are my own unless otherwise noted.

12. H.W. Janson, ed., *Paris Salon de 1863*, no. 247 (New York: Garland, 1977), 325. See also A. Blühm, *The Colour of Sculpture: 1840-1910* (Amsterdam: Van Gogh Museum, 1996), 192, for a similar translation. “Issue d’une grande famille vénitienne, Bianca Capello s’enfuit à l’âge de dix-huit ans, accompagnée d’un jeune Florentin, en emportant les bijoux de sa famille. Réfugiée à Florence, elle devint la maîtresse de François de Médicis, supposa un enfant, se débarrassa des complices de sa supercherie, et se fit épouser par son amant. Devenue grande duchesse de Toscane, Bianca Capello aurait voulu empoisonner son beau-frère, le cardinal de Médicis; mais son mari ayant pris par mégarde du mets préparé, elle se résigna à mourir avec lui.”

Although her two portraits were quite well received, her true success of the year was the historical portrait of Bianca Capello (1548-87), the mistress and later wife of Francesco I de' Medici. Capello was known for her deceitfulness, sordid affairs, and powerful dominance over men, for which she gained notoriety, culminating during the nineteenth century in a resurgence of artistic and literary interest in her infamous exploits and mysterious demise. Nymphet, *puttana*, mistress, murderess, and *la pessima Bianca* (the detestable Bianca) were among the many derisive labels bestowed upon this romantic, historical figure; she was a perfect choice for a "symbolist" female character. The bust was a great success, establishing Marcello's reputation and truly marking the beginning of her career as a professional sculptor.

Certainly Marcello must have admired her subject a great deal, finding Capello's strength an inspiration to persevere in both her personal and professional life. Capello's history, complete with accounts of her fearlessness and evil deeds, appealed to the artist. Marcello seems to have marketed the image of a famous historical *femme fatale* with this bust a decade or more before such representations would come into vogue at the end of the nineteenth century during the Symbolist era.

Once very much a part of European cultural consciousness, today few people outside of Renaissance scholarship know of Bianca Capello's fame. Serious interpretations of the figure include a number of historical biographies, such as August Gottlieb Meissner's *Histoire de la vie et de la mort de Bianca Capello*, (Paris: Maradan, 1790); Johann Philipp Seibenkess' *Life of Bianca Capello*, translated from the original German into Italian and English (Liverpool: J.M. Creery, 1797); and S. Ticozzi's *Memorie di Bianca Cappello, gran-duchessa di Toscana* (Florence: V. Batelli, 1827). During Marcello's lifetime a number of important Italian publications on Bianca Capello's life surfaced, including Guglielmo Enrico Saltini's *Della morte di Francesco de' Medici e Bianca Capello*, published in *Archivio storico italiano* in 1863, the year Marcello completed her bust of the figure.¹³ Marcello owned copies of both Giulio Bernardino Tomitano's 1816 text *Bianca Cappello e Pietro Buonoventuri* and Meissner's *Bianca Capello, Roman dramatique* (translated from the original German by Rauquil-Lieutaud in 1790) both still conserved in her library at the Fondation Marcello in Fribourg. She may have also read Jean-Charles-Léonard de Sismondi's (1773-1842) *History of the Italian Republics from the Middle Ages* (1818). Early editions of Pierre Larousse's *Grand dictionnaire universel du XIX^e siècle* also included entries for Capello.

13. Guglielmo Enrico Saltini, "Della Morte di Francesco I dei Medici e Bianca Capello" *Archivio Storico Italiano* (Florence: Presso G.P. Vieusseux Editore, 1863): 19-81.

14. Saltini's biographical article is the most widely cited scholarly source on Capello of the period. For recent studies on Capello, see R. Cantagalli, "Bianca Cappello e una leggenda da sfatare" *Nuova Rivista Storica* (1965): passim, and J.R. Hale, gen. ed., *The Thames and Hudson Encyclopedia of the Italian Renaissance* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1981 reprinted 1989), 68; For a selection of Bianca Capello's letters to the Cardinal Frederico de' Medici, see C. Charles Casati, *Lettres royales et lettres missives inédites* (Paris: Didier, 1877), 75-77.

15. All accounts do attest to her beauty, which she certainly used as a tool. Even Honoré de Balzac commented on the beauty of Bianca Capello in his novel *Cousine Bette*: "Bianca Capello, whose portrait is one of Bronzino's masterpieces...[she was one of those women] who remained lovely in spite of the years, their passions, and their lives of excess." See Honoré de Balzac, *Cousine Bette* (New York: Penguin, 1965 [1846]), 32. Marcello had read *Cousine Bette* and remarked (in an unnumbered notebook, marked *Pensées recueillies*) that she found it "admirable" (Archives FM).

16. I have yet to find two sources that agree on the age Capello was when she fled with Bonaventuri. J.R. Hale claims she was fifteen when she left Venice, but it is more likely that this was her age when she met Bonaventuri. See Hale, 68.

17. Bonaventuri and Capello's child was a girl, whom they named Pellegrina. A portrait of Pellegrina is in the collection of the Uffizi, and is reproduced in Mary G. Steegmann, *Bianca Cappello* (Baltimore and London: Norman, Remington and Co., 1913), 156. According to Henry Schütz-Wilson "[Pellegrina] was, in 1598, assassinated in Bologna, by order of her husband, for infidelity to him." See his *History and Criticism: Being Studies on Conciergerie, Bianca Cappello, Wallenstein, Caldereon, Carlyle, Goethe, Faust, Taine* (London: T.F. Unwin, 1896), 92. Reprinted in Philadelphia, R. West, 1976.

18. Obviously, it has been suggested that Joanna was murdered by Francesco and Bianca. Francesco's brother, Piero de' Medici, had murdered his wife and Isabella de' Medici had been strangled by her husband, so such murders were not uncommon in Medici history.

19. Ethel Colburn Mayne claims that she got the child from a poor woman who lived in the slums, taking him back to the palace within an hour of his birth on 29 August 1576. See Ethel Colburn Mayne, *Enchanters of Men* (London: Methuen, 1909), 28. Bianca later confessed the scheme to Francesco, but he legitimized the child nonetheless. The child became Antonio de' Medici.

In addition to the history recounted in Marcello's *livret* text, one could add a number of interesting events from Capello's life.¹⁴ She was the beautiful daughter of Bartolommeo Capello, a Venetian nobleman and senator.¹⁵ Her mother had died, presumably when she was very young, so that she lived for many years without any female supervision. Her father then remarried, which caused some strife and may have instigated her flight from the Capello household, as her stepmother was said to have been quite jealous of the attention Bartolommeo lavished on his daughter. She may have been as young as sixteen,¹⁶ not eighteen as the *livret* suggests, when she ran away from home, pregnant.¹⁷ The "young Florentine" she ran away with was Pietro Bonaventuri, a poor merchant and rogue who lied to Capello, claiming that he was a descendant of the noble Salviati family when in actuality he was a simple clerk at the Salviati Bank in Venice, located near the Capello home. After threats by her father of having her locked up in a nunnery, Capello and Bonaventuri eloped when her family arrived in Florence. She quickly learned of his true social position, and, having been lied to for the first and last time, she took matters into her own hands. Fearing the extradition demanded by Venice for her return (for she was now an outlaw), she sought and received asylum under the protection of prince Francesco I de' Medici, son of Cosimo I. Soon after she agreed to meet Francesco at his palace in response to a message he sent to her, he installed her at a pensione on the Via Maggiore, and their love affair began in 1564. A year later he married Joanna (Giovanna), Archduchess of Austria (daughter of Ferdinand I, King of Naples), who died in 1578 from a "mysterious" illness.¹⁸

A number of enigmatic events soon followed: the unexplained murder of Capello's husband, Bonaventuri, in 1569; Francesco's rising to the title of Grand Duke of Tuscany after the death of his father (which was followed by the decline of the Medicis' reign); Francesco's marriage to Capello, within two months of the death of his wife Joanna, affording Capello the title Grand Duchess of Tuscany in 1579; and Capello's own hoax against Francesco, in which she claimed to be pregnant and to have "delivered" a son, producing a male heir.¹⁹ Reclaimed by the homeland that had rejected her after her elopement, she was honored with the title Daughter of the Republic of Venice.

According to modern accounts, the Grand Duke and Duchess died abruptly after a banquet on 10 October 1587 of malaria or some viral fever. The 1867 edition of Larousse's *Grand dictionnaire universel* left Bianca and Francesco's death a mystery, only suggest-

ing that they may have been murdered.²⁰ Much later, Mary G. Steegmann discussed the age-old confusion surrounding their deaths, noting that “truth and tradition tell different tales... the popular belief refuses to accept the simple explanation of natural causes established by medical facts.”²¹ Their sudden death and the fact that their subjects hated them immediately gave rise to the rumors that they were poisoned. The most commonly accepted story, as noted by Marcello’s account in the *Salon livret*, was that Capello was trying to “poison her brother-in-law, the Cardinal de’ Medici, but when her husband inadvertently ate from the dish she had prepared, she took part in it and died.”²² According to Ethel Mayne’s early twentieth-century study, the most widely accepted explanation had always been that Bianca failed at adding *empoisonneuse* to her resumé:

*Bianca put poison into a sort of tart, of which she had observed the Cardinal particularly fond. Ferdinand either suspected or had secretly discovered her design. He declined tasting the tart. The more she pressed, the more he excused himself. Francesco, hearing the tart so much commended, ate of it plentifully. Bianca, seeing her plot take a wrong turn ... ate up the remainder.*²³

There is a certain level of misogyny evident in this accepted story; Capello was seen not only as being capable of murder but as being, additionally, incompetent. Yet Capello was much too smart and powerful to blunder a plan to kill her brother-in-law. Instead another story has also been suggested:

*[Cardinal Ferdinand de’ Medici] had noticed that [his brother] Francesco was addicted to the dish, and he bribed the cook to poison it...it is almost confirmed by Ferdinand’s conduct when the pair had eaten and succumbed [...] Bianca had been a thorn in Ferdinand’s side for years...[His] behaviour to the dead woman was atrocious...all pictures and medals of her were suppressed in Florence; and Ferdinand gave her publicly the epithet of The Detestable Bianca (La Pessima Bianca).*²⁴

Capello was thirty-nine years old, by most accounts, at the time of her death. She was buried in the common vault at the Church of San Lorenzo in Florence, as Ferdinand refused to allow her to be buried with the Medici family. For many of Capello’s biographers, the Duchess lacked personal and moral dignity; yet it was these very characteristics of defiance that made her interesting to quite a number of artists and writers after her death.

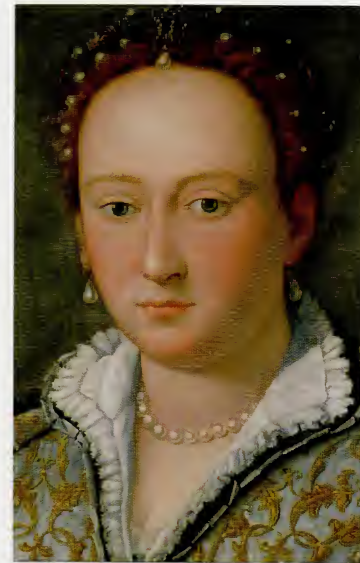


Fig. 3-6. Alessandro Allori. Bianca Capello. Circa 1580. Oil on canvas. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence, Italy. Photo: Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY.

20. Pierre Larousse, *Grand dictionnaire universel du XIX^e siècle* (Paris: Administration du Grand Dictionnaire Universel, 1867), 305-6. “Après ce funeste événement, on sait que Ferdinand jeta son froc aux orties et remplaça sa barrette de cardinal par la couronne de grand-duc. Fut-il l’assassin de son neveu et de celle qu’il appelait la détestable Blanche?”

21. Steegmann, 277.

22. Philadelphia Museum of Art, *The Second Empire, Art in France under Napoleon III, 1852-1870* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1978), 233-4.

23. Mayne, 34.

24. Mayne, 35-36.



Fig. 3-8. Alphonse Fouquet, Paul Grandhomme, Charles Beranger. *Châtelaine Bianca Capello*. Circa 1878. Gold, diamonds, mother-of-pearl and paint. Musée des Arts décoratifs, Paris. Photograph by Laurent Sully Jaulmes. All rights reserved.



Fig. 3-7. E.G. Dannel. *Elopement of Bianca Capello*. 1843. Engraving for *Godey's Lady's Book*, after a painting by J.R. Herbert. Collection of the author.

Marcello was not the first artist to take Bianca Capello as a subject. Capello's fantastic and romanticized existence became the subject of numerous works of art beginning in her own lifetime. The painter Alessandro Allori (1535-1607) depicted Capello in a portrait (fig. 3-6) that now hangs in the Tribune Room at the Uffizi.²⁵ Allori's uncle, the famed Agnolo Bronzino (Angelo di Cosimo, called Bronzino, 1503-1572), was also among the many court painters who produced images of her and the Medici family. Also during Capello's own lifetime, cast bronze portrait medals were struck bearing her image, as was done with all members of the Medici family, although after her death the production of medals bearing her image was forbidden by Cardinal Ferdinand.²⁶ Other works bearing Capello's likeness or simply using her as the subject exist from the time of her life through the eighteenth century, but her story was most influential during the nineteenth century, and inspired works which included histories, operas, dramatic plays, and decorative metalworks. She was the subject of numerous plays, including Laughton Osborn's London theater adaptation of her life in 1868. She was also discussed, often with illustrations, in numerous ladies' journals in France, England, and America, such as E.G. Dunne's 1843 engraving after J.R. Herbert's painting *The Elopement of Bianca Capello* for *Godey's Lady's Book*, published in Philadelphia (fig. 3-7). Much attention was given to the Italian Renaissance during this period, for historians constructed the very history of the "Renaissance" in the nineteenth century.²⁷

Marcello's *Bianca Capello* certainly inspired later works by other artists, including the *Châtelaine Bianca Capello* (fig. 3-8) by the artist and jeweler Alphonse Fouquet (1828-1911). This châtelaine was exhibited in the Universal Exposition in 1878. In an exhibition catalogue published in 1989, a catalogue entry for *Châtelaine Bianca Capello* confirmed that "for the portrait within, the jeweler himself considered, and was inspired by, the marble bust of 1863, which had been made by the sculptor Adèle Marcello [sic] really the duchess Castiglione-Colonna, née d'Affry."²⁸

Why did Marcello decide to create a bust of Bianca Capello, and what were her personal influences? As noted above, the artist owned books about the subject that certainly contributed to the defining of her sculptural work.²⁹ Additionally, the opera *Pietro de Médicis*, with music by Prince Poniatowski, ran in Paris from 1860 through 1862; Marcello easily might have seen this opera, as she spent significant time in Paris in the early

25. The best source on Allori is currently Simona Lecchini Giovannoni, *Alessandro Allori* (Torino: U. Allemandi, 1991). Allori was a Florentine late mannerist painter who was also the nephew, pupil and principal follower of Bronzino; Guido Reni (1575-1642) may have studied with Allori. It is very possible that Allori's painting of Capello was painted from life. Allori was the court painter to Francesco de' Medici, and as such contributed two panels to Francesco's Studiolo in the early 1570s. As Marcello had certainly known of Michelangelo's drawing of Venus from the Uffizi, she must have been familiar with Allori's painting of Capello as well.

26. A bronze portrait medal bearing Capello's image, by Antonio Selvi, surfaced on the art market in 1997 at Bonhams Auction House in London. Other medals bearing Capello's image have survived, and many bear the date of 1578, the year of her marriage to Francesco. My thanks to Arne Flaten, a specialist in Renaissance medals, for bringing some of these extant Capello medals to my attention.

27. A session devoted to the study of this issue, entitled "19th Century Perspectives on the Italian Renaissance," was held at the College Art Association Annual Conference in Los Angeles in 1999.

28. Ausstellung des Bayerischen Nationalmuseums, *Pariser Schmuck vom Zweiten Kaiserreich zur Belle Époque* (Munich: Hirmer, 1989), 124-6. "...Für das Porträt in Maleremail ließ sich Béranger wohl von der Marmorbüste der Bianca Capello inspirieren, die 1863 von der Bildhauerin Adèle Marcello, eigentlich Herzogin Castiglione-Colonna, geb. d'Affry, ausgeführt worden war." César Ceribelli (1841-after 1907), an Italian sculptor who exhibited frequently in Paris, also created a marble bust of Capello that was exhibited in the last official Paris Salon, in 1881. As I cannot locate an image of Ceribelli's work at this writing, it is difficult to ascertain how indebted he was to Marcello's version.

29. Giulio Bernardino Tomitano, *Bianca Cappello e Pietro Buonaventuri* (1816) and August Gottlieb Meissner, *Bianca Capello, Roman dramatique imité de l'allemand [de Meissner], par M. Rauquil-Lieutaud, 2 Vols.* (Paris: Didot l'aîné, 1790). Marcello's copies of these books are preserved at the Archives FM.



Fig. 3-10. Michelangelo Buonarroti. *Venus* (also known as *Zenobia* or *Portrait of Vittoria Colonna as Venus*). 1522. Black chalk drawing. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence, Italy
Photo: Scala/Ministero per i Beni e le Attività culturali/Art Resource, NY.



Fig. 3-9. Marcello. *Bianca Capello*. (Side view.) 1863. (This carving, after 1879.) Marble.
Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg.

1860s. Similarly she may have been familiar with Alberto Randegger's opera *Bianca Capello* that had a run in Trieste beginning in 1854.

Marcello was also familiar with a drawing by Michelangelo in the Uffizi (compare figs. 3-9 and 3-10) that influenced her ideas for the headpiece, bodice, and sleeves for the bust.³⁰ She had studied the drawing in Florence and made a faithful pen-and-watercolor copy of it now in a private collection in Paris. A number of scholars have compared the drawing by Michelangelo, often called *Venus*, but also referred to as *Zenobia*, or *Portrait of Vittoria Colonna as Venus*, to Marcello's *Bianca Capello*, and it is obvious that Marcello faithfully copied elements of it for the bust of Capello. It has not, however, been noted that if in fact Michelangelo's drawing was originally a portrait of Vittoria Colonna, Marcello's deceased husband's ancestor and her own "relation" through marriage, the image would have had even more personal interest to her.

Marcello never tired of researching every aspect of her subjects' lives; she discussed the life of Capello with the author and diplomat Count de Circourt,³¹ and it seems likely that she consulted Sismondi's *History of the Italian Republics from the Middle Ages* (1818) which was available in a French translation by the 1820s.³² Sismondi's book may have been brought to Marcello's attention by the French historian and journalist François-Auguste-Marie Mignet (1796-1884), whom she knew through Aldolphe Thiers. Mignet wrote a historical notice on Sismondi in 1847 for a publication of the latter's selected essays.

Marcello's *Bianca Capello* became the subject of a mathematical text published in 1863, the same year in which it was exhibited at the Salon. Marcello became deeply involved with mathematical computations during this time, and she studied mathematical equations for aesthetic laws. Her mathematical notebooks are conserved in Fribourg, along with her notes on mathematical aesthetics which she worked on with the mathematician Édouard Lagout (fig. 3-12). A member of the École Polytechnique, Lagout used the sculpture *Bianca Capello* to demonstrate his mathematical theories pertaining to aesthetics in his 1863 edition of *Ésthétique nombrée*, an essay on the influence of mathematics on arts and design, harmony, music and philosophy. His theories and analysis were additionally published in the June 1863 edition of *Le Monde Illustré*.³³ Each of these publications contained images of *Bianca Capello*, in the former an engraving and in the latter a photograph.

30. Luitpold Dussler, *Die Zeichnungen Des Michelangelo* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag Gambh., 1959), 186. See also Philadelphia Museum of Art, *The Second Empire, 1852-1870: Art in France under Napoleon III*, 233-4, cat. no. V-23, and *Ausstellung des Bayerischen Nationalmuseums, Pariser Schmuck Vom Zweiten Kaiserreich zur Belle Époque*, 126. Marcello was quite familiar with the Uffizi collection and the museum is said to own Marcello's painted *Self-Portrait* as well. Michelangelo's *Venus* was often copied, and was also faithfully copied by Francesco Ubertini (known as Bacchiacca, 1494-1557) for his *Sibylle* circa 1521 (fig. 3-11).

31. According to Jean-Pierre Samoyault in *The Second Empire, 1852-1870: Art in France under Napoleon III*, 233, "The explanatory note on the life of Bianca Capello that appeared in the Salon catalogue may have been written by [the comte de Circourt]." I have found no reason to believe this, as Marcello was quite educated and could have certainly composed the paragraph herself.

32. See Jean-Charles-Léonard Simonde de Sismondi, *Histoire des républiques italiennes du moyen âge*, 16 Vols. (Paris: Treuttel and Würtz, 1826 [1818]).

33. Édouard Lagout, *Ésthétique nombrée* (Paris: E. Dentu, 1863); the sections on *Bianca Capello* were reprinted in *Le Monde Illustré* (6 June 1863). In her text *Marcello: Sculpteur* (p. 84), Henriette Bessis mistakenly refers to Edouard Lagout as "Eugène Lagout" and mistakenly dates the *Le Monde Illustré* article to "5 juin 1865." The original notes that Lagout and Marcello worked on together, conserved at the Archives FM, have not been previously published or discussed. *Bianca Capello* was not included in Lagout's 1862 edition of *Ésthétique Nombrée* (Paris: Renou et Maulde, 1862), obviously because the sculpture had not yet been completed.

Lagout's theory used Marcello's work as an example of the most apparent expression of "the equation of the beautiful" in his theory of mathematical aesthetics. The mathematical proportions of the bust impressed him, and he compared the measurements and ratios to the measurements of musical notes. (The importance of music, mathematics, and Marcello's art will be discussed in the following chapter.) He attributed Marcello's skill to intuition rather than to actual computations (unfairly, as she had studied mathematics, but typical, because women were not supposed to be able to understand mathematics), but regardless of this, his singling her out to illustrate his theory and his publication during the months of the Salon could have only enhanced Marcello's credibility. Lagout's texts mentioned similar scientific affinities in Michelangelo's sculpture, making the connection between the two artists more concrete. He also, somewhat unfortunately, revealed Marcello's true identity in *Le Monde illustré*, explaining that "M. Marcello" was actually "Mme la duchesse Colonna de Castiglione." After all her struggling with the idea of using a pseudonym and her worries that without it she would be disdained, Lagout gave away her identity in a matter of weeks. Although Lagout was the first, he would not be the only author in Paris to do this, as will be shown.

34. Adèle Colonna (Marcello), personal memoirs, unfinished and unpublished, (known as *Mémoires d'Adèle d'Affry*), c. late 1870s, Archives FM, 13-14 [original manuscript], 53 [typewritten copy]. "Donc, étant présente un jour à un mariage entre italiens, je fus placée de manière à apercevoir presque tout le temps une dame dont l'air fier, le bec d'oiseau chasseur et le regard à la fois dominateur et plein de promesses se tournait parfois vers je ne sais quelle sienne victime. Je sortis fort préoccupée, je ne connaissais rien de cette femme, et ne dédierais point la prier de poser, le modèle eût gêné mon idée, j'avais pour ainsi dire appris ses traits par cœur. Voici un type italien d'une finesse rare, pensais je, et le moyen de rendre cette tête tragique m'apparaissait sans qu'il en fallût altérer la beauté. Au XVI^e siècle que fut devenue cette femme, perverse hautaine, passionnée. Au fond, le modèle est le prétexte, mais pour créer, passer un type, il faut voir plus loin. Déjà le buste était avancé, et je cherchais un nom pour le public qui symbolisât les attraits perfides de l'héroïne, lorsque le nom de Bianca Cappello me vint à l'esprit." The translation used is by Jean-Pierre Samoyault, in *The Second Empire, 1852-1870: Art in France under Napoleon III*, 233. In Samoyault's citation of the original French text, Marcello's exact sentence structure was modified. I have given the verbatim text from her memoirs in this footnote.

The model for *Bianca Capello* did not actually sit for the work, but instead was a woman of great beauty whom Marcello saw at a wedding and sculpted from memory. In her unfinished memoir, Marcello wrote:

*Having been invited to the marriage of an Italian couple, I...observed a lady with a proud bearing, a hawk-like nose, and a look both domineering and alluring which she occasionally chose to direct toward some unknown victim of hers. I left, deeply preoccupied, having memorized the features of a woman about whom I knew nothing. I said to myself that here was a type of rare quality, and the means of reproducing that tragic head without altering its beauty came to me. What would have happened in the sixteenth century to that perverse, haughty, passionate woman? In the end the model became a mere pretext. But in order to create a type, one must look further. I had already done a great deal of work on the bust, and I was looking for a name that, for the public, would symbolize the perfidious charms of my heroine when the name of Bianca Capello struck me.*³⁴

Although the identity of the Italian lady who so inspired Marcello is unfortunately not known with certainty, it has been recently suggested by Pierre Apraxine that the “haughty, passionate woman” was the Countess de Castiglione, Virginia Oldoini (fig. 3-13, 1837-1899). Oldoini was not related to Carlo Colonna, Duke of Castiglione-Altibrandti, Marcello’s deceased husband. The beautiful mistress of Napoleon III, Oldoini was a spy for the court of Savoy, and the best-known and most glamorous *demi-mondaine* of the age.³⁵ On 14 June 1863, a critic in *Le Figaro* stated that “everyone in Paris knows that the bust of *Bianca Capello* by Marcello is Mme de Castiglione.”³⁶ The Countess de Castiglione had served as a model for other artists’ works. Albert-Ernest Carrier-Belleuse (1824-1887), for example, completed a sculpture entitled *La Comtesse de Castiglione en reine d’Etrurie* in 1864. Carrier-Belleuse’s figure dons a costume based on one Oldoini actually wore, creating a scandal at a ball at the Tuileries on 10 February 1863. Among Marcello’s graphic works, one finds an astute drawing of the Countess by Marcello, although dated in Marcello’s hand to 1864, one year after her *Bianca Capello* was exhibited to public acclaim. The subject of the work, as evidenced by the quotation above, was of secondary importance to the sculptor. Marcello stated that she chose the model from memory and the subject of Bianca Capello later. This suggests that she began the sculpture freely, without being committed to a specific subject in the earliest stages of the project.

Bianca Capello won considerable acclaim in the reviews of the Salon of 1863. Often quoted is Theophile Gautier’s critique of the sculpture, published in *Le Moniteur universel* on 1 September 1863. Gautier, one of the most important critics at mid-century, recognized the duality of Marcello’s representations of women, both evil and heroic. In his quite lengthy review, Gautier also complemented Marcello on her other two submissions, and gave her work considerable attention:

One would take the bust of Bianca Capello by M. Marcello for the work of the Renaissance masters. It possesses the proud slenderness, the haughty elegance of the sculptures of this period. The head, with a bizarre hairstyle, has a cruel grace, an imperious beauty, a dangerous appeal; it brings to mind these femmes fatales whom nothing can resist, and like those that Italy produced in the sixteenth century. The neck, thin and flexible, extends in viperous undulations, and is attached to a skillfully draped chest.

The portrait of Madame la Duchess de San C, a bust in wax, captivates with an extraordinary smoothness of modeling which adds more to the transparency of the material, of which the tone, a warm white, recalls ivory with more fleshiness and suppleness.*

35. Pierre Apraxine and Xavier Demange “*La Divine Comtesse*”: *Photographs of the Countess de Castiglione* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 51. According to Apraxine, “It appears also that the sculptor Marcello had in her possession an album of photographs of the countess lent by Costantino Nigra. These photographs may have inspired the bust of Bianca Capello exhibited by the sculptor in 1863.” The Fondation Marcello, however, could not confirm that Marcello had owned such a book of photographs of the Countess, and Apraxine does not cite the source of his knowledge for this. As Marcello knew the Countess personally, it is unlikely that she would have failed to mention her in connection to the work in her personal memoirs, where she briefly writes of Oldoini. See Adèle Colonna (Marcello), personal memoirs, unfinished and unpublished, (known as *Mémoires d’Adèle d’Affry*), c. late 1870s, Archives FM, 21-2 [original manuscript], 59-60 [typewritten copy].

36. Monsieur de Cupidon, “Tout Paris, Jambe-de-fer,” *Le Figaro* (14 June 1863): 5-6. “Jeudi, à l’hôtel des Ventes, on a exposé un tableau représentant *Bianca Capello*[,] dont Marcello, nous donne le buste cette année. Marcello n’est autre, on le sait, que Mme de Castiglione.” It is worth noting that Marcello and Oldoini were at the time (and often today) confused with each other, as they had similar titles and frequented the same exclusive social circles. Ghislain de Diesbach has acknowledged that “à l’apogée du Second Empire, trois Castiglione brillent à la Cour des Tuileries, mais d’un éclat bien inégal. La première est la fameuse comtesse de Castiglione, sur qui sont dirigés les feux de la scène; la deuxième est la duchesse de Castiglione Colonna, tout animée de sa flamme intérieure; la troisième, la duchesse de Castiglione, veuve du maréchal Augereau, réduite à l’état de lumignon car elle n’est plus qu’un glorieux débris du passé.” See his essay, “La Duchesse Colonna, un témoignage inédit sur la cour de Napoléon III,” in *Le Souvenir napoléonien* (October 1988): 33-40. See also J. Jordan, “A propos de Marcello les deux Castiglione,” *La Liberté* (25 August 1954): 5.



Fig. 3-11. Francesco d'Ubertini, known as Bacchiacca. Sibylle. Circa 1520s. Oil on canvas. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Austria. Photo: Erich Lessing / Art Resource, NY.

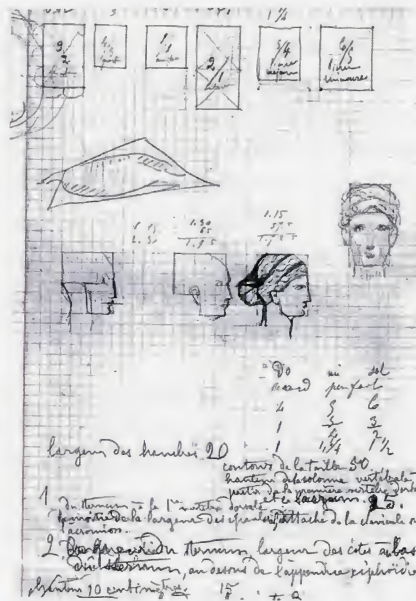


Fig. 3-12. Marcello and Edouard Lagout. Notes for *Esthétique nombreée, Application de l'équation du beau à l'analyse, harmonique de la statuaire nouvelle* (détail). 1863. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.



Fig. 3-13. Marcello. Portrait of the Countess Castiglione. 1864. Graphite drawing. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.

*In the portrait of the Count G. de M. [sic] (marble), the mask is attacked boldly and by vigorous angular planes. The name of Marcello might be, one says, merely a pseudonym and might hide an illustrious presence [or name] that we will not reveal. We will only say that the hand that handles the chisel in so masterly way is the hand of a woman.*³⁷

Gautier, like many other critics that summer, let out the secret that Marcello was certainly a woman. Her pseudonym, if it did begin as a smoke screen to hide her gender from the Salon Jury, had not stayed secret for very long. In July of 1863, Hector de Callias commented on the pseudonym in his sculpture review published in *L'Artiste*:

*Finally the pseudonym of Marcello, which hides a grand name of Michelangelesque memory, is located at the base of three busts: Bianca Capello, a Florentine figure of the greatest age; The Duc of San C. [sic] and a bust in the round, which is a jewel. One would easily say to Marcello -- although Marcella is more true than Marcello: Tu Marcellus eris!*³⁸

Using a typical criticism of work by female artists, Paul Mantz mentioned Marcello's sculptures briefly in *Gazette des beaux-arts*, noting in a somewhat backhanded compliment, "the busts signed with the pseudonym Marcello are conceived in the style of the sixteenth century, but the softness of the execution reveals a feminine hand."³⁹ Although it was never a well-kept secret, again the gender of the artist was questioned, as Georges Dumesnil asked, "Of which sex are you, o signor Marcello? ... at the risk of sounding indiscreet, I would swear that you are not from ours ... the ugly sex; all to the contrary."⁴⁰

There were a few positive reviews pointing out that Marcello had an eye for studying nature and the Florentine masters without having been part of an official academy. For example, Ernest Chesneau wrote in *Le Constitutionnel*, much earlier in the summer, on 2 June that "Nature fully observed by a firm, intelligent and artistic eye is enough to produce the grand style which cannot be learned in school; the sculptures signed with the name Marcello would fully prove this point if one needed it."⁴¹ He continued with a bit of advice that she actually did not take:

I am told that behind the name Marcello is hiding a young patrician who bears one of the most noble names in Italy. I invite her in the future to get rid of this elegant

37. Théophile Gautier, "Salon de 1863," *Le Moniteur universelle* (1 September 1863): 1114-5. "L'on prendrait pour l'oeuvre d'un des maîtres de la Renaissance le buste de Bianca Capello, par M. Marcello. Il possède la sveltesse fière, l'élégance hautaine des sculptures de cette époque. La tête, coiffée bizarrement, a une grâce cruelle, une beauté impérieuse, un attrait dangereux; elle fait deviner une de ces femmes fatales à qui rien ne résiste et comme en produisait l'Italie du 16^e siècle. Le col, mince et flexible, s'allonge en des ondulations vipérines et se rattache à une poitrine habilement drapée. Le portrait de Mme la duchesse de San C*, buste en cire, se fait remarquer par une extraordinaire finesse de modelé à laquelle ajoute encore la transparence de la matière, dont les tons, d'un blanc chaud, rappellent l'ivoire avec plus de gras et de ductilité. Dans le portrait du comte G. de M. (marbre), le masque est attaqué hardiment et par vigoureux méplats. Le nom de Marcello ne serait, dit-on, qu'un pseudonyme et cacheraient une illustration que nous ne dévoilerons pas. Nous dirons seulement que la main qui manie le ciseau d'une façon si magistrale est une main de femme."

38. Hector de Callias, "Salon de 1863: La Sculpture" *L'Artiste* (1 July 1863): 5. "Enfin le pseudonyme de Marcello, qui cache un grand nom de michelangelesque mémoire, se trouve au bas de trois bustes d'un superbe travail: Bianca Capello, une figure florentine de la meilleure époque; le duc de San C. [sic] et un buste en cire qui est un bijou. Volontiers on disait à Marcello, quoique Marcella soit plus vrai que Marcello: Tu Marcellus eris!" [Translation note: "Tu Marcellus eris" is Latin for "You will be Marcellus," i.e., "You will be great."]

39. Paul Mantz, "Le Salon de 1863 (II article)," *Gazette des beaux-arts* Tome II (1863): 58. "Les bustes signés du pseudonyme de Marcello sont conçus dans le goût du XVI^e siècle, mais la mollesse de l'exécution trahit une main féminine."

40. Georges Dumesnil, "La Sculpture à l'exposition de 1863," *La Courrier artistique* 3:2 (28 June 1863): 7. "De quel sexe êtes-vous, ô signor Marcello? ... Au risque de passer pour indiscret, je jurerais que vous n'êtes pas du nôtre... du laid; tout au contraire."

41. Ernest Chesneau, "La Sculpture au Salon," *Le Constitutionnel* (2 June 1863): 1. "La nature, franchement observée, d'un oeil ferme, intelligent et artiste, suffit à donner le grand style qui n'est pas une recette d'école; les sculptures signées du nom de Marcello le prouveraient abondamment, s'il en était besoin."

pseudonym and openly sign her work. France provides her a good example of this honesty that each artist owes to his or her talent and to the public that admires them.⁴²

Louis Leroy was much kinder to Marcello, and actually sensed the “heroic” qualities of the *Bianca Capello* in his Salon review of 8 June:

*Bianca Capello is a bust in the heroic genre. Her curious hair style, her Florentine outfit of the sixteenth century, are of a precision and a flamboyance that attract the eye and demand attention. The Colonnas were lacking a famous name, the young duchess is giving it to them.*⁴³

42. Chesneau, 1863, 1. “On me dit que derrière le nom de Marcello s’abrite une jeune patricienne qui porte un des plus nobles noms de l’Italie. J’oserai l’engager à dépouiller à l’avenir ce pseudonyme élégant et à signer franchement ses oeuvres. La France lui donne un illustre exemple de cette franchise que tout artiste doit à son talent et au public qui l’admire.”

43. Louis Leroy, “Salon de 1863, C’est pour avoir l’honneur de saluer la sculpture,” *Le Charivari* (8 June 1863): 2. “*Bianca Capello* est un buste du genre héroïque. Sa coiffure curieuse, son ajustement florentin du seizième siècle sont d’une exactitude et d’un flamboyant qui attirent l’œil et forcent l’attention. Il manquait une illustration au nom des Colonna, la jeune duchesse est en train de la lui donner.”

44. Letter from Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux, to Adèle Colonna (Marcello), dated 28 June 1863, Archives FM. “Je les crois incapables, à eux tous, de faire *Bianca Capello*. Soyez fière, chère et aimable Duchesse, de vos oeuvres. La presse vous a grandie de mille coudées. A vous l’avenir, à vous la gloire: car vous possédez la puissance, la science et la génie des arts.”

45. Dumesnil, 1863, 7. “Eh bien! signor Marcello, voilà une aimable héroïne que vous avez choisie là!”

46. Ernest Fillonneau, “Salon de 1863,” *Moniteur des arts* (27 June 1863): 3. “Un autre buste, le plus remarqué du Salon, et un des plus dignes de l’être, est celui de *Bianca Capello*, par Marcello, un pseudonyme qui cache une grande dame dont nous respecterons l’incognito, et dont le ciseau habile était bien fait pour reproduire les traits de cette belle Vénitienne. Marcello connaît toutes les ressources de son art: l’artiste eût été noble par le talent s’il ne l’était par la naissance. *Bianca Capello* a été achetée par M. Beurdeley, un de nos premiers marchands de curiosité.”

Despite a large amount of attention and mostly praise from critics, Marcello received neither a medal nor an honorable mention from the Salon Jury. It is very possible that the early revelations of her true sex, although usually contained within positive reviews of her work, cost her a medal. She expressed her disappointment to her friend Carpeaux, who replied, in a letter dated 28 June 1863, “I consider them too inept, all together, of making *Bianca Capello*. Be proud of your work, my dear and lovely duchess. The press has greatly enhanced your stature. Future and fame lie before you, because you have power, the technical knowledge and the genius of the arts.”⁴⁴ On that day, Dumesnil had publicly praised Marcello’s submissions in *Le Courrier artistique*, calling them (somewhat unfortunately) “delicate,” and “soft.” Yet he also referred to the *Bianca Capello* specifically as a “lovable heroine.”⁴⁵

Regardless of the Jury’s neglect in acknowledging it with an award, *Bianca Capello* was both critically and financially successful. Ernest Fillonneau, art critic for *Moniteur des arts*, praised the sculpture on 27 June, and reported that the bust had found a buyer:

*Another bust, the most noticed at the Salon, and one of those most worthy of being noticed, is that of Bianca Capello, by Marcello, a pseudonym hiding a great lady whose anonymity we shall respect, and whose skilled carving was well done to reproduce the features of this beautiful Venetian woman. Marcello knows all the resources of her art: The artist would have been made noble by talent had she not been made so by birth. M. Beurdeley, one of our most important merchants of objets d’art, has bought Bianca Capello.*⁴⁶

As noted by Fillonneau, the bust had sold (actually, even before being exhibited) to the collector Alfred Beurdeley (1808-1882), proprietor of a specialty shop, begun by his father Jean. Beurdeley sold "objects d'art, de curiosités et d'ameublement," at the Pavillon de Hanovre, at the corner of the Boulevard des Italiens and the rue Louis-le-Grand, 52. He purchased the marble *Bianca Capello* for three thousand francs, then a considerable sum. This was followed by numerous requests by other collectors and prospective buyers for additional marbles and new casts in bronze. Marcello "sold the reproduction rights for *Bianca Capello* to the bronze founder Ferdinand Barbedienne, retaining ownership of the model herself and keeping careful watch on the finish of the copies, which, although they had the same dimensions, were sometimes treated very differently."⁴⁷ Marcello retained the right to receive a percentage of the sale price for each work sold, and the right to apply finishing touches to works if she deemed it necessary. Beurdeley was not happy that numerous replicas of *Bianca Capello* had been created and sold, and claimed that only he owned the "original."⁴⁸ Wanting to produce his own reproductions of the bust to offer for sale in his shop, Beurdeley tried to prevent Barbedienne from doing the same. As stated above, Marcello had sold the rights to reproduce *Bianca Capello* to Barbedienne, with the stipulations that he was to pay her a certain percentage as the owner of the model, that each cast be unique in some detail, and that she retained the right to retouch the reproductions. "She was a modern-minded artist who used new techniques to produce copies in marble and bronze," claimed Blümm in the 1996 exhibition catalogue *The Colour of Sculpture*.⁴⁹

Beurdeley filed a lawsuit against Barbedienne in 1867, five years after his purchase of *Bianca Capello* from the Salon, demanding part of the profits from the sale of the bronze editions, claiming he was the owner of the "original" model. This event is certainly one of the most important early cases involving the discussion of originality in art, and yet it has never been cited in art historical texts regarding the issues of originality in sculpture. The Fondation Marcello conserves twenty-three letters from Antoine Berryer (1790-1868), the celebrated Parisian lawyer who represented Marcello and Barbedienne and provided legal council. Beurdeley seems to have lost the suit in court, and Marcello did not have further problems of this nature with reproductions.⁵⁰ The marble that Beurdeley purchased from the Salon is believed to have been in his possession until his death, after which it was sold at auction through the Hôtel Drouot. Listed as number 291 at a sale held from 23-25 April of 1883, it is unknown whether it sold, or, if so, to whom, and today this first marble version of the work remains lost.⁵¹

47. Blümm, 192. Additional evidence for this can be found in Marcello's letters to her praticiens and assistants. See various letters at the Archives FM.

48. The question of originality in sculpture is a difficult one. H.W. Janson famously noted that "there are no originals in nineteenth-century sculpture [unless the maquette has been preserved]," *Nineteenth Century Sculpture* (New York: Abrams, 1985), 10. There are numerous sources to cite on this issue, but probably the best debate was between Rosalind E. Krauss and the late Albert E. Elsen. See Krauss, "The Originality of the Avant-Garde," and "Sincerely Yours," *The Originality of the Avant-Garde and Other Modernist Myths* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1986); and Elsen's reply in October 20 (Spring 1982): 107-9.

49. Blümm, 192.

50. Twenty-two letters from the lawyer Antoine Berryer (1790-1868) were written to Marcello in 1867-68 concerning the Beurdeley case and they still exist at the Fondation Marcello. However, copies of the *Gazette des tribunaux* from these years did not yield any information concerning this case, and Berryer died in 1868. It is possible that Marcello found a new lawyer and the case came to trial later after 1868, but further investigation of the case in later editions of the *Gazette* is necessary.

51. Hôtel Drouot, *Collection de feu M. Beurdeley père, deuxième vente, objets d'art et d'ameublement, tableaux, auction and sale catalogue*, Paris: Hôtel Drouot, 23-25 April 1883.



BIANCA CAPELLO, buste de Marcello.

Fig. 3-14. Engraving of Marcello's bust of Bianca Capello. 1863. Published in *L'illustration, journal universel* (1 August 1863), 85.



EXPOSITION DES BEAUX-ARTS (SCULPTURE).
BIANCA CAPELLO — BUSTE PAR MARCELLO.

Fig. 3-15. L.B.Q. Court and L. Chabon. *Bianca Capello, Bust by Marcello*. 1863. Engraving published in *Le Monde illustré* (6 June 1863), 368.



Fig. 3-16. Gaspard-Félix Tournachon, known as Nadar. *Photograph of Marcello's Bianca Capello*. 1863. Photograph circa 1863-64. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.

Marcello's *Bianca Capello* was visually quite well known in the nineteenth century as well as being critically popular. Representations in either engravings or photographs of Bianca Capello were published in *L'Artiste*, *L'Illustration* (fig. 3-14), *Le Monde illustré* (fig. 3-15), *L'Illustrateur des dames*, and in Édouard Lagout's *Esthétique nombrée*, all of 1863. The 1863 engraving from *Le Monde illustré* reappeared in *Gazette des beaux-arts* in 1873 when *Bianca Capello* was exhibited in Vienna. The popular photographer Nadar captured the sculpture in an image around the time of its exhibiton at the Salon in 1863 (fig. 3-16). The Emperor Napoleon III purchased a marble version for 4,000 francs on 4 August 1864, and had it transferred to Fontainebleau on 7 March 1865, a wonderful boon for Marcello as this was where numerous important figures and attendees of the court's soirées saw the bust.⁵² Another marble was purchased by the state in 1872 after Thiers became president of the Third Republic, and was exhibited at the Musée du Luxembourg from 1873 to 1886; Marcello was one of only seven women artists to have artwork exhibited in the Luxembourg during the nineteenth century, and among them she was the only female sculptor included during that period.⁵³ After the Salon of 1863, other marbles and bronze casts of *Bianca Capello* were exhibited many times during Marcello's life, most notably at the *Exposition des beaux-arts*, Lille (1866); the *Exposition universelle*, Paris (1867); the *Exposition internationale des beaux-arts*, Munich (1869); the *Exposition chez Durand-Ruel*, Paris (1873); the *Exposition universelle*, Vienna (1873, where she was awarded a medal for her submissions); and the *Exposition au cercle artistique*, Nice (1877).

Marcello's *Bianca Capello* is significant for many reasons: its success and popularity, a rare occurrence for a woman artist and her work during the nineteenth century, and its reference to an important historical female figure. It is interesting to note that Marcello made a point of including a brief history of her subject, emphasizing the aspects of her life that were most evil. Why would Marcello want to do this?

Certainly Marcello wanted her public to know that Bianca was "wild" from a young age, she was a thief, she became the Grand Duchess of Tuscany by seducing Francesco de Medici, she faked a pregnancy, and was a murderess, whether she failed on one fatal occasion or was duped by her own designs. Marcello gave her subject the characteristics of a "flower of evil" and seems to have anticipated this aspect of the *fin-de-siècle* culture well before the *fin-de-siècle*, using it to her own advantage to produce a successful, intriguing, and popular work. Even the fact that Capello used poison in

52. The provenance is listed in Philadelphia, 1978, 233. "Purchased ("domaine privé") by the Emperor for 4,000 francs by decree of August 8, 1864 (Louvre Archives 2 DD 26, n6 [1864]); sent to Fontainebleau, March 7, 1865 (Louvre Archives, S 12 [1865]); transferred to the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Marseilles, April 17, 1894 (Louvre Archives S 12 [1894]).

53. I must give special thanks to Jane Mayo Roos for making me aware of this point. See Philippe de Chennévières, *Notice des peintures, sculptures et dessins de l'école moderne exposées dans les galeries du musée national du Luxembourg* (Paris: Charles de Mourgues frères, 1873), 1 passim. The other six female artists at the Luxembourg were Eugénie Parmentier (1837-1874); Jeanne-Mathilde Herbelin (1820-1904); Elodie LaVillette (1848-1917); Rosa Bonheur (1822-1899); Nélie Jacquemart (1840-1912); and Eléonore Escallier (1827-1888). Marcello's *Bianca Capello* was later removed from the Luxembourg, in 1886, along with her *Chef Abyssin*, because it was realized that they were the works of a foreigner. The marble version of the sculpture that was already at Fontainebleau then was transferred to Marseilles in 1894.

her last act of defiance was interesting to the contemporary public. Poisoning was known as a “woman’s crime” in the nineteenth century. Between 1825-1885 in France, 53% of all criminals charged with poisoning were women; poisoning reached a peak during the years 1840-1860, right around the time Marcello was sculpting *Bianca Capello*.⁵⁴

Marcello seems to have created an evil female not as someone to be feared, but instead as someone to be admired. Even the critic Georges Dumesnil could not help but admire her, in spite of the figure’s historical background. His critique could very well be confused with one directed to a *fin-de-siècle* artwork by a Symbolist sculptor:

*Well! Signor Marcello, here is a good heroine that you chose! If I were you I would have preferred Papavoine or Cartouche; they were of the people, it is true, but honestly they were less thuggish than your great duchess of Tuscany. This one can be kidnapped, she can rob, poison, and all these kinds of things, which are very Italian, will get you honors of a white marble bust... What is the most immoral thing is that this bust is adorable! This rascally wench, this true strumpet with her insolence, with her rich outfit that seems to be designed by Veronese, one would sell their soul for her! One would allow her anything, even to fake another pregnancy under the only condition that one would believe he was the father! ... See, signor Marcello, your Bianca is capable of everything, even making me say more stupid things that I usually do!*⁵⁵

54. Philippe Ariès and Georges Duby, eds. *A History of Private Life: From the Fires of Revolution to the Great War*, volume ed., Michelle Perrot (Cambridge, MA: Belknap/Harvard, 1990), 153. The book was originally published as *Histoire de la vie privée*, Tome 4, *De la Révolution à la Grande Guerre*. (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1987).

55. Georges Dumesnil, “La Sculpture à l’exposition de 1863,” *Le Courrier artistique* (28 June 1863): 7-8. “Eh bien! signor Marcello, voilà une aimable héroïne que vous avez choisie là! [...] À votre place j’eusse préféré Papavoine ou Cartouche; ils étaient *peuple*, c’est vrai, mais franchement ils étaient moins canailles que votre grand duchesse de Toscane. Ainsi, l’on peut se faire enlever; on peut voler, empoisonner et toutes ces gentilleses par trop italiennes vous vaudront les honneurs d’un buste en marbre blanc. [...] Ce qu’il y a de plus immoral, c’est qu’il est adorable ce buste! Cette gueuse, cette franche coquine avec son insolente beauté, avec son riche costume qui semble être dessiné par Véronèse, on se damnerait pour elle! on lui permettrait tout, même de supposer encore un enfant, à la seule condition qu’on pourrait s’en croire le père! [...] Tenez, signor Marcello, elle est capable de tout, votre Bianca, même de me faire dire plus de sottises que je n’en dis d’habitude!”

We know that Marcello admired the figure she spotted at the Italian wedding, and wanted to assimilate her beauty and strong features with those of an identifiable historical figure. Marcello’s goal, then, may have been to stake a claim for powerful women in history by representing a bust of one at the heavily attended Paris Salon. By including the paragraph on Capello in the *livret*, she made certain that her audience would know the important points of the life of her subject. Particularly towards the end of the century, women were often depicted in art as a prize or muse, or as somehow deformed, or covered with snakes, or with tempting bodies and evil faces. Marcello’s bust of Capello, however, challenged negative images of women by providing a figure shown as defiant and proud of how she has lived, regretting nothing. Marcello refused to depict them as unattractive or morally ugly; this is, in part, how she presented Capello in a positive light. Thus Marcello promoted a different, more stoic, role for women of history.

The strength of Marcello's *Bianca Capello* lies in her direct representation of an important figure from history as valiant, authoritative, and powerful, although most critics focused on the suppleness and refined carving of the works. This would be the first of many such representations of women from history, mythology, and her contemporary world to come from her hands. By endowing *Bianca Capello* with the characteristics of beauty and strength often reserved for male heroes, Marcello has claimed for this historical woman a position of power and for contemporary women the right to be viewed as more than a beautiful object of sexual desire.

MARIE-ANTOINETTE

Marie-Antoinette (1755-1793) does not, at first, seem like a logical choice for the depiction of a historical heroic figure. Most people think of Marie-Antoinette in connection with her assumed distaste for the poor of France, and her suggestion that they be given brioche or the pastries that she did not want when they begged for bread at the palace door. There is really no evidence that she actually said this, and yet her bad reputation was born during her years as queen consort and persists (outside of serious scholarship) today. When one looks at the circumstances of her short life, however, it is easy to see why Marcello counted her representations of Marie-Antoinette among her heroic busts.

In November of 1864, while a guest of Napoleon III and Empress Eugénie at one of the Imperial soirées (also known as the “les séries impériales”) at Compiègne, Marcello learned that both she and the Empress admired Marie-Antoinette. The two were somewhat indirectly connected to the historic figure. Marcello's paternal great-great grandfather, Louis-Auguste-Augustin comte d’Affry (1713-93), was a commander of the Swiss Guards in the service of Marie-Antoinette's husband, Louis XVI. Her maternal great grandfather, Jean-Roch-Frédéric de Maillardoz (1727-1792), died in Marie-Antoinette's service during the French Revolution.⁵⁶ Eugénie's admiration for Marie-Antoinette was seen as distasteful by both Princess Mathilde and the Goncourt brothers, as noted by the latter in their journal.⁵⁷ The Empress Eugénie was, like Marie-Antoinette, a foreign born royal consort of France. A dialogue developed between the Empress and the artist, which resulted in Marcello's completion, in 1866, of two busts of the historic queen.

The first, *Marie-Antoinette à Versailles, 1774* (fig. 3-17) shows the queen at Versailles at the moment of her political and public glory, when her husband ascended the throne. The bust is an example, *par excellence*, of Marcello's stylistic strategy for producing coura-

56. See Chapter One for a full discussion of Marcello's family.

57. Edmond and Jules de Goncourt, *Journal, Mémoires de la vie littéraire, 4 volumes* (Paris: Fasquelle and Flammarion, 1956), 1: 1258-59, 2: 536-37.



Fig. 3-17. Marcello. *Marie-Antoinette at Versailles*. 1866. (This carving, after 1879.) Marble. Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg. Given to the Canton of Fribourg as part of the Musée Marcello bequest, 1881 [M 5].

geous-looking figures. Exuberantly dressed, the queen smiles slightly and her head, turned towards the left, is held in a bold position. Marie-Antoinette wears an elaborate headdress, including a drop-pearl diadem, which is repeated as a choker at the neck. Surrounded by all of this extravagance, the real emphasis seems to be given to the *poitrine*; with vivacious breasts and the illusion of the elegant softness of skin, the bust exudes youthfulness and sexuality. Here Marie-Antoinette is shown in a moment of glory.

The second, *Marie-Antoinette au Temple*, 1793 (fig. 3-18) depicts the Queen in prison awaiting her execution. Although the richness of the costume and the emphasis on the chest has changed, the elements of pride and fearlessness have not – in fact these characteristics are instead accentuated here. Marie-Antoinette's smile is gone, as are her fancy jewels. They have been replaced with a subdued expression and a crucifix necklace, the latter signifying her appeal for forgiveness, not to the populace, but to a higher power. For Marcello, even a person as thoroughly detested as Marie-Antoinette was redeemable.

A meticulous researcher, Marcello was intensely disciplined when undertaking a new subject. For her busts of the Queen, she studied over two hundred drawings of Marie Antoinette housed at the *Cabinet des estampes* in the Bibliothèque impériale (now the Bibliothèque nationale) and read numerous texts published during the queen's reign. Labeled "l'Autrichienne" or simply "the bitch" (*la salope*), Marie-Antoinette was widely lampooned in the pornographic pamphlet literature of the underground press in late-eighteenth-century France.⁵⁸ More importantly, the queen consort was accused of monstrous crimes, for which there seems to be no real evidence today, and was executed despite her possible innocence. Marcello may have also been aware of this, as well as Jacques-Louis David's (1748-1825) famous drawing of the queen on her way to the guillotine. David depicted Marie-Antoinette calmly taking her last steps, head held high, even though as a Jacobin and ally of Robespierre he most likely voted for her death.

Marcello's busts of Marie-Antoinette reveal an understanding of the former queen's power and ultimate demise. In keeping with her schema for heroic females, both contain monumental and decorative elements. Although the elaborate dress and adornment of *Marie-Antoinette à Versailles*, 1774, are replaced with a simple peasant garment and crucifix necklace in *Marie-Antoinette au Temple*, 1793, both busts show the queen with her head held high, her expression proud and fearless.

58. See Lynn Hunt, "The Many Bodies of Marie-Antoinette: Political Pornography and the Problems of the Feminine in the French Revolution," in *Eroticism and the Body Politic* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), 108-30.



Fig. 3-18. Marcello. *Marie-Antoinette at Temple Prison*, 1793.1866. Marble.
Musée d'Orsay, Paris. [RF 3527]
Photo: Réunion des Musées Nationaux /
Art Resource, NY.

The position of the head in a sculptural bust, whether lowered in submission or raised in defiance, has a great effect on how the subject is perceived by the viewer. As noted by Claudine Mitchell in her 1989 article on the sculptures of Camille Claudel, "the lowering of the head and eyes [in sculpture] were registered as a token of modesty, as they were in the codes of social behavior."⁵⁹ In defiance of these social codes, Marcello's females hold their heads high, a fact that critics like Théophile Gautier were quick to notice. In his review of the Salon of 1866, Gautier remarked:

*The two busts by Marcello that represent, like an antithesis of destiny, Marie-Antoinette at Versailles and Marie-Antoinette at prison: the queen and the captive, the palace and the jail. But the more queen-like of the two is the prisoner. Beneath the outrage, the haughty forehead did not bend, and if she lost the crown she won the halo: in her rich adornment and her poor garment, Marie-Antoinette has the same beauty.*⁶⁰

In addition to the strength present in the heads of Marcello's female figures, one notices immediately that there is a great expressivity present in their necks, shoulders, and chests. Rather than the cold stiffness found in many marbles of the period, in Marcello's figures one finds a dynamism exemplified by the movement of the neck and shoulders, and the placement of the drapery over the chest. Her busts of female figures seem, in this way, to be in sharp contrast to the classical ideal so often promoted by the academy. This is true of the busts of Marie-Antoinette, and becomes more starkly evident here because, when they are exhibited together, one notices that one of the major differences between them is the treatment of the *poitrine*.

The busts, certainly conceived as companion pieces, were shown side-by-side in the Salon of 1866. Ernest Fillonneau, always an advocate of Marcello's works and one of her most supportive critics, spoke only of the two busts of Marie-Antoinette in his sculpture review in *Le Moniteur des arts* on 18 May 1866, a little over two weeks after the Salon's opening. It is worth quoting at length, as Fillonneau considered many of the issues regarding the bravery of the queen at the time of her death:

Artists, amateurs, even the unemployed, all stop in front of two busts of Marie-Antoinette, one representing the queen in Versailles in 1774, the other the queen in prison at Temple in 1793. No one passes without looking and without admiring side by side

59. Claudine Mitchell, "Intellectuality and Sexuality: Camille Claudel, the Fin-de-Siècle Sculptress," *Art History* (December 1989), 440.

60. Théophile Gautier, "Salon de 1866," *Le Moniteur universel* (10 August 1866), 1002-3. "...et des deux bustes de Marcello qui représentent, comme une antithèse de la destinée, Marie-Antoinette à Versailles et Marie-Antoinette au Temple: le reine et la captive, le palais et la prison. Mais la plus reine des deux est encore la prisonnière. Sous l'outrage, le front hautain n'a pas ployé, et s'il a perdu la couronne, il a gagné l'auréole: Dans sa riche parure et son pauvre vêtement, Marie-Antoinette a la même beauté."



Fig. 3-19. Marcello. *The Gorgon*. 1865.
(This carving, after 1879.) Marble.
Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg.
Given to the Canton of Fribourg as
part of the Musée Marcello bequest,
1881 [S 34].

the magnificent antithesis of happiness and misfortune; of joy and martyrdom. Marcello's chisel is responsible for these busts.

Marie-Antoinette à Versailles was nineteen years old: her face, radiating with severe grace and beauty, is shown in three-quarter view; this profile, delicately accentuated, resembles a pure cameo where dignity and intelligence are reflected. The hairstyle that one finds in the engravings of the time, adds more to the character of the portrait, historical and intimate at the same time [...] One has too long forgotten about the Dauphine: Marcello has just given her back to us.

Marie-Antoinette au Temple, on the contrary, has had many portraitists. But I find in this bust, and uniquely here, the only modern interpretation that I would trust if I were writing history. The great mistake of painters, in general, has been to age Marie-Antoinette beyond measure, in forgetting that sorrow changes the expression but not the traits. Here, this is the courageous queen who said to Barnave: "I have always been what you see me as. Only the circumstances have changed." This is the queen famous for disdain of offenses and her resignation. Before this bust, one remembers in spite of one's self the fitting words that she replied to her son asking her if the hardships of the past evening were to be finished soon. "No, my child, yesterday must never end for us." [...]

Marcello here has made two masterpieces, in the ordinary sense of the word. As historical truth, as taste, and as sentiment, one cannot see anything more completely achieved. [...] the noble artist who continues to find shelter under this borrowed [pseudonym] is truly right to hold fast, for [s]he shall be one of the small number of the elite in contemporary art.⁶¹

Even across the ocean in New York, the busts of Marie-Antoinette were heralded as masterpieces. An author calling himself (or herself) "Rembrandt" in *The Turf, Field and Farm* complimented the works in a review of the French Salon on 11 August 1866:

As usual, there is a long array of sculpture in this collection. It is placed this year, not in the garden of the palace, but in a side avenue. Perhaps its most remarkable feature, [sic] is two epic busts of Marie-Antoinette – the one as Queen, at Versailles, the other as prisoner in the temple. They are produced with great vigor, are highly finished, and noble blocks of marble, and are sent in under the name of the works of Marcello, but are ascribed to a noble lady artist, the Countess [sic] of Colonna.⁶²

61. Ernest Fillonneau, "Salon de 1866," *Moniteur des arts* (18 May 1866): 2. "Artistes, amateurs, désœuvrés même, tous s'arrêtent devant deux bustes de Marie-Antoinette, l'un représentant la Dauphine à Versailles, en 1774, l'autre, la reine au Temple, en 1793. Personne ne passe sans regarder, et sans admirer, à côté de cette magistrale antithèse de la félicité et de l'infortune; de l'allégresse et du martyre. Ces bustes sont dus au ciseau de Marcello. Marie-Antoinette à Versailles a dix-neuf ans: son visage, rayonnant de grâce et de beauté sévères, est vu de trois quarts; ce profil, délicatement accentué, semble un pur camée où se reflètent la dignité et l'intelligence. La coiffure, qu'on retrouve dans les gravures du temps, ajoute encore au caractère historique et intime à la fois du portrait [...] On avait trop oublié la Dauphine: Marcello vient de nous la rendre. Marie-Antoinette au Temple, tout au contraire, a eu de nombreux portraitistes. Mais je retrouve dans ce buste, et là uniquement, la seule interprétation moderne qui m'inspirerait confiance, si j'écrivais l'histoire. Le grand tort des peintres, en général, a été de vieillir Marie-Antoinette outre mesure, en oubliant que le chagrin altère l'expression mais non les traits. Ici, c'est cette reine courageuse qui disait à Barnave: 'J'ai toujours été ce que vous me voyez. Les circonstances seules ont changé.' C'est cette reine célèbre par son dédain des outrages et par son résignation. On se souvient malgré soi, devant ce buste, de la belle parole qu'elle répondit à son fils lui demandant si les rigueurs de la veille ne finiraient pas bientôt: 'Non, mon enfant, hier ne doit jamais finir pour nous.' [...] Marcello a fait là deux chefs-d'œuvre, dans l'acception la moins banale du mot. Comme vérité historique, comme goût et comme sentiment, on ne peut rien voir de plus complet. [...] la noble artiste qui continue à s'abriter sous ce nom d'emprunt, a grandement raison d'y tenir, car il sera du très petit nombre des élus dans l'art contemporain."

62. Rembrandt, "The French Exhibition of 1866," *The Turf, Field and Farm* (11 August 1866): 91.

None of the critics seem to have commented on the fact that Marie-Antoinette was the hero of the Royalists, and that Marcello, from an aristocratic Swiss family, may have had a more personal interest in heroizing the figure. Only Gautier, a staunch Republican, seemed to acknowledge that the depiction of Marie-Antoinette as a hero was flawed. Yet he was so impressed by the busts that even he was willing to put political differences aside, noting that the “mistake” of glorifying Marie-Antoinette was one “for which we forgive the great heart of the artist.”⁶³

Obviously Marcello was aware of the disgrace that surrounded Marie-Antoinette and her memory, yet she refused to depict the queen as demure, repentant, or fearing death. In keeping with the standard artistic formula for representing heroes faced with their own death (as, for example, in images of Socrates and Christ), Marcello depicted Marie-Antoinette nobly gazing bravely ahead at the executioner and, of course, at the viewer.

THE FEMALE AS HERO IN REPRESENTATIONS OF HISTORICAL WOMEN: *La Gorgone, Ananké, Hécate et Cerbère, La Bacchante Fatiguée and La Pythie*

LA GORGONE

On the heels of the success of Bianca Capello, Marcello continued to create positive, progressive images of female figures. She continued in this vein with the creation of a number of mythological figures. She conceived of other projects with strong female protagonists, such as her *Gorgon* (fig. 3-19), produced during the winter of 1863-64. It was not her first image of a figure from Greek mythology, as she had sculpted *La Belle Hélène* and *Diane endormie* in the early 1860s, but it was her first mythological figure produced on a grand scale.

Always a music lover, she decided to sculpt the bust after hearing an aria by Jean Baptiste Lully entitled the *Tune of the Gorgon*, once sung for Marcello by a Madame Revirard, an amateur chanteuse of whom little is known. (More will be said on the works’ musical connections in the following chapter.) Exhibited in the Salon of 1865, the earliest marble version was carved to be over life-size, with delicate gold enhancements in the hair.⁶⁴

63. Théophile Gautier, “Salon de 1866,” 1003. “C’est une faute que nous pardonnons de grand cœur à l’artiste.”

64. A marble version of the *Gorgone* with gold paint on the serpents in the hair, most likely the version shown in the Salon of 1865, exists today in the private collection of Mme Lucille Audouy, Paris.

Displaying her skills as an animalier, Marcello dressed the *Gorgone* in a snake-skin vest and a lion skin, and surrounded her with additional animal forms. These accessories are emblematic of heroic figures. The lion skin, a Herculean attribute that adorns the fig-

ure's head and breast, recalls the accoutrements of various ancient Roman busts depicting heroes and emperors, such as the famed bust known as *Commodus as Hercules* from around AD 190. Marcello certainly may have seen the bust of Commodus during one of her many stays in Rome, and was well aware of the iconography of heroic figures. The *Gorgone's* attire was also inspired by costumes that Marcello had observed at masked balls frequented by members of the aristocracy. Well-educated in the classics and meticulous about rendering her figures accurately, Marcello included snakes, delicately intertwined in the figure's hair, which evoke specifically the gorgon Medusa. Known for her ability to turn men into stone with her hideous face, Medusa was the only mortal of the three gorgon sisters (the other two sisters being Stheno and Euryale). According to myth, Medusa's transformation from beautiful mortal to hideous monster was bestowed upon her by Athena as punishment for allowing the god Poseidon to take sexual liberties with her in Athena's temple. When Medusa became pregnant with Poseidon's offspring, Athena ordered Perseus to hunt her down and destroy her.⁶⁵ Marcello includes a bizarre creature entangled atop Medusa's *coiffure* with wings that allude to the birth of Pegasus, the winged horse, and the warrior Chrysaor, both born from the Gorgon's severed neck and blood after her death at the hands of Perseus.

Certainly it can be argued that the Gorgon is actually the tragic anti-hero; she is the threatening, cursed creature who is destroyed by the male protagonist. Yet Marcello chooses not to depict this figure at the moment of her destruction by Perseus, as so many artists, including most famously Antonio Canova (fig. 3-20) and Caravaggio (fig. 3-21), had done previously. It is not the Gorgone's defeat that is at issue in Marcello's representation, but rather it is the figure's power and strength while she lives, which is shown in full development. The Gorgon is represented with a strong turn of the head and a stern look of dominance and control – the look that could turn men into stone. The deeply drilled irises underscore the figure's deadly gaze. One can also argue that even within the mythological text, it is the decapitated head of Medusa that gives Perseus his strength, as he later uses the head to defeat his enemies; in other words, she embodies the hero's power and he succeeds through her power. After using the head in battle, Perseus returned it to Athena, who wore it on her breastplate to ward away evil.

Even in its own time, the *Gorgone* motivated writers to discuss the figure's heroic qualities. Inspired by the work, a man known only as Count Siméon sent a sonnet he wrote to Marcello:



Fig. 3-20. Antonio Canova. *Perseus with the Head of Medusa*. Circa 1804-06. Marble. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1967 (67.110.1). Image © Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

65. Jane Davidson Reid, *The Oxford Guide to Classical Mythology in the Arts, 1300-1990s*. 2 Vols. (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 650. Ancient sources for Medusa include Hesiod's *Theogony* and Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.



Fig. 3-21. Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio.
The Head of Medusa. 1590-1600.
 Oil on canvas glued to wood. Galleria degli Uffizi,
 Florence, Italy.
 Photo: Scala / Minsitero per I Beni e le Attività
 culturali / Art Resource, NY.

Que vous comprenez bien la tête de
 Gorgone!

Elle n'inspirait pas l'épouvante et
 l'horreur.

Elle pétrifiait, mais en frappant au cœur,
 Sa beauté valait plus qu'un empire et qu'un
 trop.

Où, vous la rendez bien cette belle
 Amazone;

Ses armes et ses traits indiquent sa valeur.

Elle est fière, elle est noble, et puis dans sa
 grandeur,

Lutter avec Pallas, approcher de Colonne.

Le sang de la Gorgone a mis Pégase au
 jour!

Méduse pour ce fait mérite votre amour,
 Car Pégase a montré le chemin du Par-
 nasse.

S'on ne fait plus dompter ce coursier dan-
 gereux,

Mais j'ai du moins tâché, dans mon insigne
 audace,

De chanter dans mes vers ce qu'admirent
 mes yeux.

May you understand well the head of the
 Gorgone!

She does not inspire terror and horror.

She petrifies, but in striking the heart,
 Her beauty was worth more than one empire
 and more.

Yes, you render well this beautiful amazon;

Her weapons and her features indicate her
 value.

She is proud, she is noble, and then in her
 greatness

To fight with Pallas, to approach the
 Column.

The blood of the Gorgon gave birth to
 Pegasus!

Medusa for this fact deserves your love
 Because Pegasus showed the way to
 Parnassus.

So one no longer tames this dangerous
 messenger,

But I have tried at least, in my illegitimate
 daring,

To sing in my verses that which my eyes
 admired.⁶⁷

Marcello's representation of the Gorgone (and the Count's sonnet) calls to mind more recent feminist discussions of the Medusa myth, particularly Hélène Cixous' article "The Laugh of the Medusa," in which she states that one "only has to look at the Medusa straight on to see her. And she's not deadly. She's beautiful and she's laughing."⁶⁸

Marcello's *Gorgone* lacks the revolting facial features typical of Medusa representations, which conflicts with the history of the character. But in discussing such imagery in his article "The Medusa of Harriet Hosmer," William Gerdts cited the tradition of

67. Count Siméon, "La Gorgone, Sonnet. À Madame la Duchesse Colonne," dated "Berne, le 1^{er} Octobre 1869," Archives FM.

68. Hélène Cixous, "The Laugh of the Medusa," in Patricia Bizzell and Bruce Herzberg, eds., *The Rhetorical Tradition: Readings from Classical Times to the Present* (Boston: Bedford Books of St. Martin's Press, 1990), 1239.

the “beautiful Medusa,” developed in antiquity, exemplified by the *Medusa Rondanini* (Munich, Glyptothek) and admired by Goëthe and Winckelmann.⁶⁹ A nineteenth-century source that may have inspired both Hosmer and Marcello was Percy Bysshe Shelley’s poem “On the Medusa of Leonardo da Vinci in the Florentine Gallery,” published posthumously by his wife in 1824. As with most of Marcello’s sculptures depicting women, Gorgone depicts a beautiful yet intimidating female with legendary power. With her “fatal glance,” she is especially a threat to the male viewer.

Marcello’s *Gorgone*, like her *Bianca Capello* of the previous Salon, was quite well received. Two weeks after the opening of the Salon, on 14 May, Balthasar Robin’s critique was one of the earliest positive reviews of the work. Robin devoted three paragraphs to the Gorgone in his Salon review of that year. Writing in *Le Courrier artistique*, Robin celebrated the realism and energy embodied in the sculpture:

Who would have thought that the hand of a woman, - a fine, elegant, supple, delicate, aristocratic hand, a hand that would seem uniquely made for handling tissue and silk, - could also carve marble, manage the carving tool and take up the heavy hammer of sculptors? Everyone knows, today, that the pseudonym Marcello hides the most well liked and artistic of duchesses: the Duchess Colonna; and everyone also looks with astonishment at the busts that she signs. We have trouble recognizing, in this strong and finely accentuated head, in these proud and animated figures, the work of a woman. It is also that, in front of a block of marble, Madam Duchess Colonna is not only a woman; she is an artist, and an artist of the first order.

The head of the Gorgone that she has sent this year is one of her best works. There is in this figure something indefinable of the energetic and of the savage; an indefinable lofty and superb expression; an indefinable lofty quality in all of her features, which charms the spirit and excites the vision. One follows, almost fascinated, all the lines of this admirable face; one walks around the bust; one leaves it and returns to it there; and each time one finds something more attractive in it.

I have rarely viewed, I admit, a profile more pure and more fine than this one [in the Salon]. I have not forgotten, however, the busts of M. Carpeaux. The hairstyle admirably frames the figure of the goddess; our eyes seem to be looking at, by sculptural artifice, the artist who gave her life; the nostrils are softly dilated; the corners of the mouth are turned up disdainfully, and all this is imprinted on a strange beauty, who unites vigor to delicacy, grace to firmness.⁷⁰

69. William Gerdtz, “The Medusa of Harriet Hosmer,” *Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts* 56:2 (1978): 97-107.

70. Balthasar Robin, “Chronique de la semaine,” *Le Courrier artistique* (14 May 1865): 198-9. “Qui aurait pensé que la main d’une femme, – une main fine, élégante, souple, délicate, aristocratique, une main qui semblerait uniquement faite pour froisser la dentelle et la soie, – pût aussi tailler le marbre, manier l’ébauchoir et tenir le lourd marteau des sculpteurs? Tout le monde sait, aujourd’hui, que le pseudonyme de Marcello cache la plus aimable et la plus artiste des duchesses: la duchesse Colonna; et tout le monde aussi regarde avec étonnement les bustes qu’elle signe. On a peine à reconnaître dans ces têtes fortement et finement accentuées, dans ces figures fières et vivantes, l’œuvre d’une femme. C’est qu’aussi, devant un bloc de marbre, Mme la duchesse Colonna n’est plus une femme; c’est une artiste, et une artiste de premier ordre. La tête de Gorgone, qu’elle a envoyée cette année, est un de ses meilleurs ouvrages. Il y a dans cette figure je ne sais quoi d’énergique et de sauvage; je ne sais quelle expression hautaine et superbe; je ne sais quel grand air répandu sur tous ses traits, qui charme l’esprit et excite le regard. On suit, presque fasciné, toutes les lignes de cet admirable visage; on tourne autour de ce buste; on le quitte et on y revient; et chaque fois on lui trouve un attrait de plus. J’ai rarement vu, je l’avoue, un profil plus pur et plus fin que celui-là. Je n’ai point oublié, cependant, les bustes de M. Carpeaux. La coiffure encadre admirablement la figure de la déesse; l’œil semble regarder, tant, par un artifice sculptural, l’artiste lui a donné la vie; les narines sont légèrement dilatées; les coins de la bouche relevés dédaigneusement, et tout cela est empreint d’une beauté étrange, qui unit la vigueur à la délicatesse, la grâce à la fermeté.”



Fig. 3-22.
Michelangelo Buonarroti. *Head of Cleopatra*. [n. 2 F recto]. 1522. Drawing. Casa Buonarroti, Florence, Italy.
Photo: Scala / Art Resource, NY.



Fig. 3-23.
Marcello. *Drawing after Michelangelo's Cleopatra*.
Not dated. Graphite drawing. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.



Fig. 3-24.
Marcello. *The Gorgon*. 1865. Bronze.
The Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington, London.
Photograph copyright the Board of Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum.

Later in the summer, Paul Mantz, in his Salon review for 1865, called the *Gorgone* “a beautiful head skillfully carved in marble, with all of the elegance of Italian sculpture, by the artist who competes under the name Marcello.”⁷¹ Théophile Gautier admired the sculpture and praised the work’s aggressiveness in his review of the Salon of 1865, published in *Le Moniteur*:

*It is indeed an original and proud work...what bitterness and what superb disdain in this head of a malicious beauty...what terrifying grace and what disturbing attraction...it is a monster and it is a woman, and maybe a heart beats under the layer of scales that cover her breast.*⁷²

Although Thoré-Bürger (Étienne-Joseph-Théophile Thoré, who wrote under the pseudonym Willem Bürger, 1807-1869) incorrectly called Marcello an “Italian woman,” he also celebrated the *Gorgone* in his review of the Salon of 1865. Marcello could not have asked for better publicity than this, and it was enough to rival the young male students in Rome:

*There is no indiscretion in repeating that Marcello is the pseudonym of a noble Italian woman, full of the memories of Florentine sculpture and particularly of Michelangelo, whose grandiose style she is seeking to resurrect. This Gorgon head, which appears to have been sculpted after a drawing by Michelangelo, clashes with the average sculpture of those falsely pretending to resurrect Italian and antique art, trained at the pathetic Roman school of the Villa Medici.*⁷³

Thoré-Bürger may have had in mind Michelangelo’s drawing known as *Cleopatra* (fig. 3-22), or another of the Renaissance master’s many ominous looking females. In any case, he did correctly sense the influence of Michelangelo on Marcello, as is more potently evident in her *Bianca Capello*. Marcello in fact knew of Michelangelo’s drawing, as evidenced by a copy she made, which is today conserved at the Fondation Marcello in Fribourg (fig. 3-23).

One year after its critically successful display at the Paris Salon, Marcello exhibited a darkly patinated bronze version of *Gorgone* (fig. 3-24), at the 1866 Royal Academy Exhibition in London.⁷⁴ Thought to be her second contribution to a Royal Academy annual

71. Paul Mantz, “Salon de 1865,” *Gazette des beaux-arts* (Tome II): 40. “Mentionnons la Gorgone, une belle tête savamment taillée dans le marbre, avec toutes les élégances italiennes, par l’artiste qui combat sous le nom de Marcello.”

72. Théophile Gautier, “Salon de 1865,” *Le Moniteur* (3 June 1865): 795-6. “C’est vraiment une œuvre originale et fière... quelle amertume hautaine et quel dédain superbe dans cette tête d’une beauté méchante...quelle grâce terrible et quel attrait inquiétant! ... c’est un monstre et c’est une femme, et peut-être un cœur bat sous les plastrons d’écaille qui couvrent sa poitrine.”

73. Thoré-Bürger, “Salon de 1865,” in *Salons de W. Bürger*, 1861-68, Préface par T. Thoré (Paris: Libraire Rencoard, 1870), 265-6. “Il n’y a pas d’indiscrétion à répéter que Marcello est le pseudonyme d’une noble dame italienne, toute imprégnée des souvenirs de la statuaire florentine et particulièrement de Michel-Ange, dont elle cherche à ressusciter le style grandiose. Cette tête de Gorgone, qui paraît sculptée d’après un dessin de Michel-Ange, tranche sur la sculpture banale des faux résurrectionnistes de l’art italien et de l’art antique, formés à la triste école romaine de la villa Medici.”

74. Many of Marcello’s busts were available from Barbedienne’s foundry through the early twentieth century. For example, in the 1911 catalogue, one could order a *Bianca Capello*, which was available in two sizes (in 0.85 cm for 1’850 francs, or in 0.34 cm for 275 francs) or a *Gorgone*, which was available in three sizes (1.03 cm at 1,900 francs; 0.50 cm at 375 francs, and 0.40 cm at 280 francs). See Ferdinand Barbedienne, [Catalogue des] *Bronzes et objets d’art* (Paris: G. LeBlanc – Barbedienne, Successeurs, 1911).



Fig. 3-25. Marcello. *Ananké*. 1867. Marble. Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg [M 3].

exhibition, the sculpture was acquired by the South Kensington Museum in London (now the Victoria and Albert Museum) in 1867. Philippe Burty praised the work in his review of the Royal Academy Exhibition in *Gazette des beaux-arts*, noting, “the Duchess Castiglione Colonna, or, if one wants to respect an anonymity that success has betrayed, the sculptor Marcello, has sent a cast in bronze of her *Gorgone*, of which the decorative effect is worthy of a master of the Renaissance.”⁷⁵

One month earlier, an anonymous British author praised the sculpture’s execution while sensing and criticizing its inherent sexual power:

*Sensation works, contributed by two foreigners, serve to redeem the collection from routine...[one of these] which has come to us from across the seas is “La Gorgone,” a bronze bust executed by the Duchess of Castiglione Colonna. This, indeed, is a work of admirable spirit, power, and firm execution. The type is that of a demigod, and the serpents interwoven with dragons crown the brow grandly. It is to be regretted that a coarsely voluptuous bust taints this noble conception with vulgarity.*⁷⁶

The palpable sexuality of *Gorgone* was in direct contrast to typical Victorian tastes. Nonetheless, the work was purchased from the Royal Academy exhibition and remains on view today, although in an unfavorable location, at the Victoria and Albert Museum in South Kensington, London.⁷⁷

Marcello thought so highly of her *Gorgone* that she included it among the list of sculptures to be carved in marble by her praticien Narcisse Jacques and bequeathed it to the canton of Fribourg at her death. At least four marble versions (Fontainebleau, Musée du château; Fribourg, Musée d’art et d’histoire; Japan, Private Collection; Paris, Private Collection) and four bronze versions (Belfaux (Switzerland), Château de Belfaux; London, Victoria and Albert Museum; Paris, Private Collection; Zürich, Private Collection) are extant.

ANANKÉ

Ananké (fig. 3-25), another powerful depiction of strength, was Marcello’s next significant bust of a mythological figure. To the Romans she was known as the goddess *Necessitas*. As the ancient protogonos of necessity, she was an unyielding and potent goddess who controlled the force of destiny. The protogonoi were the first-born immortals whose

75. Philippe Burty, “L’Exhibition de la Royal-Academy,” *Gazette des beaux-arts* (July 1866): 96. “La duchesse de Castiglione-Colonna, ou, si l’on veut respecter un anonymat que le succès a trahi, le sculpteur Marcello a envoyé un moulage en bronze de sa *Gorgone*, dont l’effet décoratif est digne d’un maître de la Renaissance.”

76. “The Royal Academy,” in *The Art Journal* [London] (1 June 1866): 171-2.

77. For a discussion of the London *Gorgone*, see Charles Avery, “From David d’Angers to Rodin – Britain’s National Collection of French Nineteenth-Century Sculpture,” in *The Connoisseur* (April 1972): 230-6. Avery reproduced an image of the piece and said of it: “The sculpture belongs to an important subsidiary current in the changing styles of the nineteenth century which might be termed Neo-Mannerist and which ultimately contributed not a little to the repertory of Art Nouveau.” Instead of placing Marcello within a period of “Neo-Mannerism” or some other retroactive style, I am positioning her at the forefront of Symbolism.

forms emerged at the beginning of time. Ananké mated with Chronos (Time) to create the earth, sea, and universe through the entwining of their serpent-like coils. As the first female being and co-creator of the universe, she was nothing short of the most powerful female figure in the origins of Greek myth.⁷⁸

In Marcello's depiction of Ananké, one again finds visual clues that reference the figure's heroic nature. In the livret for the 1867 *Exposition universelle*, Marcello's description of the work appears as "a symbolic head depicting inflexible destiny. She wears the Indian attributes of wisdom: elephant tusks, the horns of Ammon and the sparrowhawk."⁷⁹ With a strong, upright head turned slightly to the right, Ananké glances not directly at the view but off into the distance, at some unknown victim. Great attention is paid to the *coiffure* and *poitrine*, as with all of Marcello's female busts. Starting at the top, Ananké's long tresses cascade in snake-like curls over the shoulders in a natural, non-symmetrical way. A reptilian beast, whose two tails slink over her ears, crowns her head. This is certainly a reference to the original serpentine forms of Ananké and Chronos themselves. An additional *animalier* element, a small falcon or sparrowhawk, is found resting between her breasts. Covering these firm breasts, complete with erect nipples, is a plain but elegant toga.⁸⁰ Her smile, intriguing, mysterious, cannot be qualified: it is neither one of happiness nor sarcasm.

Ananké is not one of Marcello's best-known works, possibly because it had been exhibited publicly only twice during her lifetime: at the *Exposition universelle* in 1867 (the year it was completed) and at the *Exposition internationale des beaux-arts* in Munich two years later. Bianca Capello, by contrast, had been exhibited seven times between 1863 and 1877, and traveled to Lille, Munich, Nice, Paris, and Vienna during those years. Additionally Ananké is not a subject often treated in art, and thus the figure's history may have been less known to the general public. It is Marcello's choice of lesser-known mythological figures for representation, however, that set her apart from other artists of her day. One critic in *Le Moniteur des arts* did notice and complement the work a few weeks before the opening of the *Exposition universelle*:

*Among the busts still unknown to the public, we cite that of the Ananké, symbol of Destiny, from the serious and profound eyes, to the sardonic mouth. This work, so remarkable, attests once again to the powerful originality of this young artist, and perhaps it is the one of her busts that we most admire.*⁸¹

78. For a descriptive entry on Ananké, see volume 1 of the *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* (LIMC) (Zürich and Munich: Artemis Verlag, 1981), 757.

79. *Exposition Universelle de 1867 à Paris. Catalogue général publié par la commission impériale* (Paris: E. Dentu, 1867), 193. "Tête symbolique de la Destinée inflexible. Elle porte pour les attributs indiens de la sagesse, la trompe de l'éléphant, les cornes d'Ammon et l'épervier."

80. It is interesting to take note of which of Marcello's female figures have visible breast anatomy, either under their clothing or exposed. It becomes clear in comparison of the sculptures that many of the strong, dominating female figures are shown with erect *mamelons* or "*bouts de sein*" (such as Ananké, Bianca Capello and Pythia) while more pious or remorseful figures (such as Marguerite de Goethe, La Petite Madone, and Marie-Antoinette au Temple) do not have this part of their anatomy visible. Like incised eyes and subtle changes in facial expressions, breasts in Marcello's work become a visual code for vigor and virility. In contrast, many of Marcello's images of men (for the most part made up of portraits) are usually cut off at the neck.

81. Adriani, "Courrier," *Moniteur des arts* (5 April 1867): 1. "Parmi les bustes encore inconnus du public, citons celui de l'Ananké, symbole de la Destinée, aux yeux sérieux et profonds, à la bouche sardonique. Cette oeuvre si remarquable atteste une fois de plus l'originalité puissante de ce jeune artiste, et c'est peut-être celui de ses bustes que nous préférons."

In 1872, the collector, journalist and publisher Émile de Girardin (1806-1881) purchased the original marble from Marcello, and after her death he donated the bust back to the museum of the canton of Fribourg.⁸² When the Musée Marcello opened to the public in 1881, the sculpture was included in the collection and was reintroduced to the public.⁸³ Marcello's sister, the poet Cécile d'Affry, Baroness d'Ottensfels, wrote a poem about the work that was published in 1888 and reprinted in a 1905 brochure for the museum:

Oui, ce rayon divin dans l'atone paupière,
Aurore du désert, a fait vibrer la pierre;
La funeste Ananké disparaît à nos yeux,
Une autre Destinée émerge au sein des
ombres,
Et l'on croit voir errer sur ses lèvres moins
sombres
Un sourire mystérieux.
Et ce sourire dit: homme, embryon de
l'être,
Larve qui vas périr, papillon qui vas
naître
Aux limbes du passé pourquoi river tes
pas?
Pourquoi haïr la main qui vient briser ta
chaîne?
Pourquoi pleurer le gland d'où s'élance le
chêne?
Regard en haut et non en bas!

Yes, this divine ray in lifeless eyelids,
Dawn of the desert, made stone vibrate;
The fatal Ananké disappears from our eyes,
Another destiny emerges in the shade of her
breasts,
and one believes to see wandering on her
less somber lips
A mysterious smile.
And this smile says: man, embryo of
being,
Larva who is going to perish, butterfly who
is going to be born,
Why bury yourself in the limbo of the
past?
Why hate the hand that has just broken your
chains?
Why cry for the acorn from which the
oaktree is born?
Look above you and not below!⁸⁴

The poem, of which only two stanzas are given here, provides a powerful reading of the figure. Cécile here gives Ananké a voice. Ananké speaks to "man," (not to "mankind" specifically, but more to the "male" gender) reprimanding him for reproaching the woman who comes to break his chains (Ananké herself, or "woman" in general), and instructs him to be concerned only with the loftier elements of life. Cécile d'Ottensfels, writing in the later 1880s, was more fully aware of Symbolist elements current in literature, poetry

82. Émile de Girardin was an important publisher and journalist in Paris, and founded the journal *La Presse*. He was the husband of Delphine Gay (1804-1855), an important poet and journalist. Gay held a literary salon in Paris that was known for its brilliance. She also published comedies, stories, and sketches of Parisian life under the pseudonym Vicomte Charles de Launay. Marcello certainly knew Gay and owned a carte-de-visite photograph of her which remains conserved at the Fondation Marcello in Fribourg.

83. See Caterina Y. Pierre, "The rise and fall of the Musée Marcello," *Journal of the History of Collections* 18:2 (2006): 211-223.

84. Camille Roy, *Marcello et ses œuvres, Souvenir du Musée Marcello, Fribourg en Suisse*, with poems by Baronne [Cécile] d'Ottensfels d'Affry (Fribourg, Imprimerie Saint-Paul, 1905), 29.



Fig. 3-27. Michelangelo Buonarroti. *Statue of Lorenzo de Medici*. (Detail from his tomb). Circa 1526-33. Marble. Medici Chapels (New Sacristy), S. Lorenzo, Florence, Italy. Photo: Scala / Resource, NY.

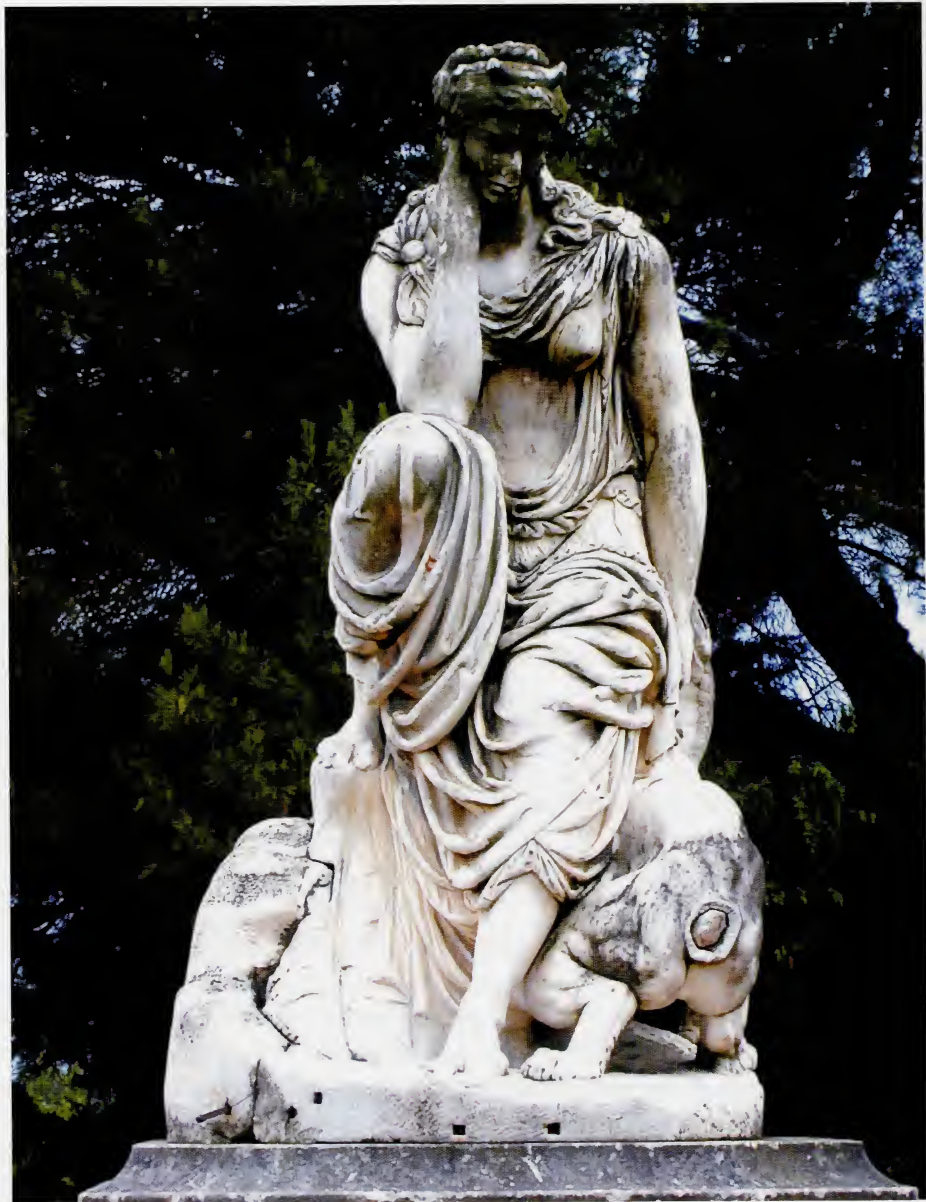


Fig. 3-26. Marcello. *Hecate and Cerberus*. 1867. Marble. Parc du domaine municipal de Grammont, Montpellier, France. Photograph by the author.

and the visual arts than was Marcello. Yet she obviously sensed these elements as palpable in a work made by her sister twenty years earlier.

Ananké is an important sculpture within Marcello's *œuvre* of female figures in the heroic genre. Although not as well known as her other works, she did include it among her submissions for the 1867 *Exposition universelle*, with other works that she had classified as "*héroïque*." Additionally, Marcello's choice of a relatively unfamiliar mythological figure that was rarely exhibited in art is a testament to her originality and her breadth of knowledge of classical texts. Such deviations from the usual mythological characters were characteristic of later Symbolist artworks, which Marcello predated by several decades.

HÉCATE ET CERBÈRE (HECATE AND CERBERUS)

Hecate and Cerberus (fig. 3-26) is significant to Marcello's *œuvre* for a number of reasons. It holds a special place as one of her first large scale marbles to reach completion and earn her a government commission. As with *Ananké*, the artist had again chose a mythological figure seldom represented in the visual arts during the period. The only other representation of Hecate (albeit as a secondary figure) worthy of note is her appearance in Gustave Moreau's *Jupiter and Semele* (Musée Gustave Moreau, Paris) of 1894-95. August Rodin treated the subject in a sculpture first cast in 1915; the work is now in the collection of the Musée Rodin. The fact that two major Symbolists depicted the subject of Hecate thirty years or more after Marcello treated her in such a grand manner should be regarded as evidence of Marcello's foresight into what subjects eventually became important to Symbolist themes.

This colossal figure is considered heroic simply by the nature of her mythological origins. In Greek mythology, Hecate (from the Greek *Hekat*, "she who works her will,") was a benevolent chthonian (underworld) goddess of fertility, women, and the moon, and was the chief goddess presiding over magic and spells. She was often linked (or confused) with Artemis (Diana) and is sometimes called Diana-Hecate. Her other "sister" goddess was Selene, goddess of the moon. Some ancient sources claim that Hecate later became Iphigeneia, a key figure in many Greek tragedies written by Aeschylus, Euripides and Sophocles. Hecate was also known as the goddess of the crossroads, invisible to all except to the hounds who attended her; thus, she was often worshipped at crossroads. Additionally she was identified with black magic, sorcery and the occult, themes



Fig. 3-28. Marcello. Drawing after Michelangelo's *Portrait of Lorenzo de' Medici* (called *Il Pensieroso*). Undated. Graphite drawing. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.

that were, incidentally, influential on later Symbolist artists. An important mythological figure, she appears in the writings of Cicero (*De Natura Deorum*), Horace (*Sermones*), Ovid (*Fasti*), Seneca (*Medea*) and Vergil (*Aeneis*).

Hecate and Cerberus was one of Marcello's largest sculptures completed in marble and its size contributes to its grandeur. One of the goddess's massive arms caresses her hound while the other rests along her cheek. Her thick hair falls gracefully along her shoulders, and her head is crowned with a crescent moon, symbolic of her connections with that celestial orb. Marcello included one of Hecate's hounds, which she identified as Cerberus, guard dog at the entrance to Hades. Thoughtful, pensive, and strong, *Hecate* is the female predecessor to Rodin's *Thinker*, the landmark Symbolist sculpture of almost two decades later. Although their poses are only tangentially related in the sense that each work depicts a seated figure, caught in a moment of introspection, both works deal with Symbolist issues of intellectualism and spirituality. Marcello described Hecate to her viewers in the livret for the *Exposition universelle* as a depiction of "the goddess, absorbed in somber meditations, [who] seems to contemplate with irony the tragic destiny of humanity."⁸⁵ She related the melancholy nature of this piece to the ten-year anniversary of the death of her husband, Carlo Colonna, an anniversary that had passed while she began working on the sculpture.

One can again see the influence of Michelangelo in *Hecate and Cerberus*, particularly in the pose and melancholy nature of the female figure. She resembles some of the Renaissance masters's works from the Sistine Ceiling in the Vatican, where Marcello often made studies and ink sketches while in Rome. Similar elements of pose and mood show as well an affinity with the "flayed skin" self-portrait of Michelangelo from the Last Judgment altarpiece also at the Sistine Chapel, in particular the placement of a fist rested on the chin. Michelangelo's flayed representation of himself exhibits melancholy, sadness, and a descent into hell. Such components also exist in the *Hecate*. The most obvious connection between Michelangelo's work and Marcello's is the similarity of her *Hecate and Cerberus* to his *Portrait of Lorenzo de' Medici* for the sitter's tomb. Critics at the time of the group's exhibition recognized the stimulus of Michelangelo's art on Marcello's *Hecate and Cerberus*, with one critic in *Le Moniteur des arts* saying of it, "From now on, the Pensieroso has a sister."⁸⁶ The phrase is a reference to Michelangelo's *Portrait of Lorenzo de' Medici* (fig. 3-27, Medici Chapel, San Lorenzo, Florence), called *Il Pensieroso* because it illustrates the contemplative life. As discussed in previous chapters, Marcello was deeply

85. *Exposition universelle de 1867 à Paris. Catalogue général publié par la commission impériale*, 193. "La déesse, absorbée dans de sombres méditations, semble contempler avec ironie les tragiques destins de l'humanité."

86. Adriani, "Courrier," *Moniteur des arts* (5 April 1867): 1. "Désormais le Pensieroso a une sœur."



Fig. 3-29.
Michelangelo Buonarroti. *The Sistine Chapel, Ceiling Frescoes* (after restoration), *The prophet Jeremiah*.
Circa 1508-12. Fresco. Sistine Chapel, Vatican Palace, Vatican State.
Photo: Erich Lessing / Art Resource, NY.



Fig. 3-30.
Marcello. *Drawing after Michelangelo's Sistine Chapel Ceiling, detail of the prophet Jeremiah*. Undated. Graphite drawing. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.



Fig. 3-32.
Marcello. *Hecate and Cerberus*, showing areas of considerable damage
from movement, weathering and vandalism (broken dog's ear,
fingers). 2004. Photograph by the author.

influenced by Michelangelo's sculpture, and made drawings after his sculptures that she had seen first hand in Italy. She drew *Il Pensieroso* in one of her many sketchbooks (fig. 3-28).

Although a similar relationship has been proposed between Michelangelo's seated self-portrait and Rodin's *Thinker*, it is important to acknowledge that Marcello had spent many years directly studying the works of Michelangelo during her long stays in Italy (where Rodin did not have the same opportunity to study over long periods of time) and the influence of the Renaissance master's work is at least as palpable, if not much more so, in Marcello's *œuvre*.⁸⁷ Her consideration of Renaissance art and her attempt to bring the style of such works into the modern art arena as early as the 1860s was particularly hers and was often noted by critics.

In her investigation of contemplative figures and poses, Marcello certainly thought of Michelangelo's *Il Pensieroso*, but also of his Sistine Chapel frescoes, in particular of his image of the Hebrew prophet Jeremiah, the penultimate pensive figure (fig. 3-29). Jeremiah inspired the English word "jeremiad," or a prolonged lamentation. He also had a pessimistic view of the present and foresaw a catastrophic future, over which he brooded. The sad nature of Jeremiah's pose and gestures as captured by Michelangelo at the Sistine match those of Marcello's *Hecate*, and she was certainly thinking of the Renaissance work when she produced her large marble group. Further evidence of *Jeremiah* as a source for *Hecate* is shown through a drawing after Michelangelo's fresco in one of Marcello's sketchbooks (fig. 3-30).⁸⁸

Other influences on Marcello's *Hecate and Cerberus* are possible. Around the time she completed her sculpture, the Musée du Louvre seems to have acquired (or had re-exhibited) *Pluto, God of Hell, Holding Cerberus in Chains* (*Pluton, dieu des Enfers, tenant Cerbère enchaîné*) by the sculptor Augustin Pajou (fig. 3-31, 1730-1809). When comparing the two sculptures, one immediately notices the complete reversal of Pluto's pose in *Hecate*. The opposite pose is used in Marcello's figure, which seems almost deliberate, as if she meant to create a companion to Pajou's work by reversing the position of the arms, head, and even the pose of the dog in her work. As Pajou's *Pluto* had long been in the collection of the École des beaux-arts and the Louvre, it is very possible that she was familiar with the work.



Fig. 3-31. Augustin Pajou. *Pluto, God of the Underworld, Holding Cerberus in Chains*. 1760. Marble. Musée du Louvre, Paris. Photo: Réunion des Musées Nationaux / Art Resource, NY.

87. For a study of the connections between the works of Rodin and Michelangelo, see Flavio Fergonzi, et. al., *Rodin and Michelangelo: A Study in Artistic Inspiration*, exh. cat. (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1997), 1 passim. The Casa Buonarroti in Florence organized the exhibition.

88. This drawing can be found in Album # VII, conserved in the *Salon Chinois* at the Fondation Marcello.

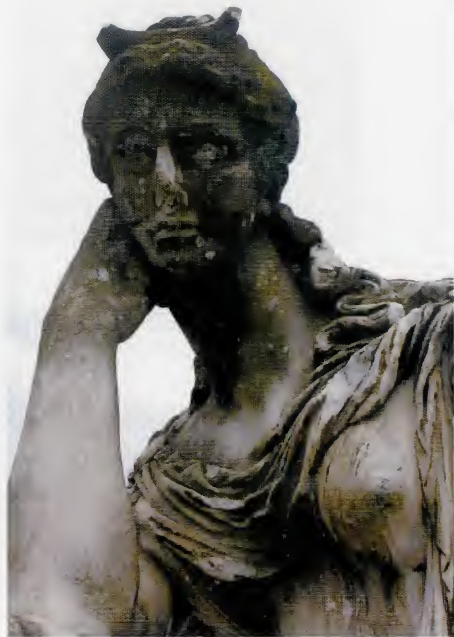


Fig. 3-33.
Marcello. *Hecate and Cerberus*, showing areas of considerable damage from movement, weathering and vandalism (broken nose, surface damage). 2004. Photograph by the author.



Fig. 3-34.
Marcello. *Hecate and Cerberus*. 1867. Period photograph showing sculpture with no damage in the artist's studio. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.



Fig. 3-35.
Marcello. *Drawing for Hecate and Cerberus*. Circa 1867. Graphite drawing. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.

Emperor Napoléon III personally ordered *Hecate and Cerberus* in marble from Marcello in 1866 to decorate the entrance of the Forest of Fontainebleau, and on 17 May 1867; 10,000 French francs were allotted for the sculpture.⁸⁹ The Minister of Fine Arts, Nieuwerkerke, had some concerns about the size that Marcello had planned for the sculpture as early as 1866. In a letter of 5 June 1866, Marcello refused to reduce the size, noting that the “majestic effect of the work” would be lost.⁹⁰ Marcello had to rent a larger studio in Paris, on the rue de Vaugirard where she worked with her *praticien* Stephan Petit, to accommodate the piece. Originally planned for the Tuileries Gardens, *Hecate and Cerberus* seems to have decorated the Palais de Compiègne for a brief time after its completion. In 1889, ten years after Marcello’s death, *Hecate and Cerberus* was moved to Montpellier, where it was displayed in the Peyrou Gardens.⁹¹ After 1956, the sculpture was moved to the Esplanade du Faubourg de Celleneuve in Montpellier. Since 1986, *Hecate and Cerberus* has been displayed in Grammont Municipal Park in Montpellier, where it remains in deplorable condition (see figs. 3-32 and 3-33).⁹² One can see the high level of damage of the sculpture when photographs of its current state are compared with a photograph of the work taken soon after its completion in 1867 and preliminary drawings (figs. 3-34 and 3-35).

In Marcello’s *Hecate and Cerberus*, one senses the theme of melancholy that later became an important subject in the work of the Symbolists; the sculpture foreshadows the spiritual malaise of the *fin-de-siècle*, seen in Hecate’s withdrawn and silent manner. Although inspired by ancient mythological sources, the work also symbolizes human suffering, tragedy, and the artist’s own feelings of loss and personal mourning.

LA BACCHANTE FATIGUÉE (THE TIRED BACCHANTE)

Shocking to some, poetic to others, Marcello’s *Tired Bacchante* (*La Bacchante fatiguée*, fig. 3-36 and drawing, fig. 3-37) holds an important place in her *œuvre* as one of her most sensual depictions of a female figure. Completed in the spring of 1869 in Rome, the *Tired Bacchante* was Marcello’s only submission to the Salon of that year. In his typical conservative tone, Prosper Mérimée asked Marcello, after hearing of her *Tired Bacchante*, “how have you discovered a Bacchante, you who have never been intoxicated?”⁹³ Later, Adolphe Thiers called the work the only one in the Salon “which merits the attention of a man of taste, the *Tired Bacchante*, I have silently admired it, she surpasses all that you have made before, and the model for it is admirable.”⁹⁴

89. Archives Nationales de Paris, F/21/237.

90. Letter from Adèle Colonna (Marcello) to Emile Nieuwerkerke, dated 5 June 1866, Archives FM “...perdre l’effet majestueux de cette œuvre.”

91. Archives municipales, Ville de Montpellier, Dossier R 2/3.

92. Mireille Lacave, *Montpellier, la sculpture dans la ville* (Montpellier, Éditions de l’Equinoxe, 1990), 63–65. “En 1956, alors que l’on enlève systématiquement les sculptures du Peyrou, pour lui redonner sa virginité première, Hécate part en exil sur une place de faubourg, puis vingt ans plus tard, elle gagne un emplacement champêtre, plus approprié à sa méditation solitaire, sur une petite éminence du parc de Grammont.”

93. Prosper Mérimée to Adèle Colonna (Marcello), undated (circa summer, 1868), Archives FM. “Comment avez-vous deviné une Bacchante, vous qui ne vous êtes jamais grisée?” This letter was published in Pierre Trahard, ed., *Prosper Mérimée, lettres à la duchesse de Castiglione-Colonna* (Paris: Boivin et Cie, Éditeurs, 1938), 56–60. The quote is found on page 59.

94. Letter from Adolphe Thiers to Adèle Colonna (Marcello), dated 27 June 1869, Archives FM. Catalogued in Henriette Bessis, “Adolphe Thiers et la duchesse Colonna.” (Ph.D. diss., University of Paris, 1972), 278–80, as letter number 114. “Comment! Vous m’aimez encore! Vous pensez à moi! Vous vous souvenez que j’existe! J’ai éprouvé à l’apprendre une joie bien vive et bien profonde. Voulez vous me croire? J’ai eu à peine un moment dans les deux mois écoulés, pour aller au Salon! J’ai vu, regardé un marbre, le seul qui méritât les regards d’un homme de goût, la Bacchante fatiguée, je l’ai silencieusement admirée (elle surpasse tout ce que vous avez fait, le modelé en est admirable) et elle m’a rempli de jalousie.”



Fig. 3-36.
Marcello. *The Tired Bacchante* (La Bacchante fatiguée).
1869. Marble. Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg.
Given to the Canton of Fribourg as part of the Musée
Marcello bequest, 1881 [M 7].

The intense expression of the *Tired Bacchante* was not lost on critics at the time of its exhibition in 1869. Thémînes, critic for *La Patrie*, celebrated the sculpture for its vitality:

And since I speak of expression, let us admire that which Marcello (it is pointless to place a name under this pseudonym so favorably known by artists and cultivated people everywhere) which Marcello, I say, has given to her Bacchante Fatiguée (marble bust). We know that this sculptor excels in making the marble live. We remember her magnificent series of busts from the Universal Exposition, notably her two Marie-Antoinettes, the queen and the prisoner, the Marie-Antoinette of Trianon and that of the Conciergerie – this time she has, as I was saying, the bust of a Bacchante.

The ardent priestess, "tired but not satisfied," rests herself reluctantly; the eyelids half-closed, the figure contracted, the nostrils quivering, the lips creased, the eyebrows softly knitted, she displays on her face all of the fatigue of the erotic dance and voluptuousness from which she finally delivers herself. The very vine branches of her crown fall down wilted on her streaming hair. The purists can prefer a classical head, the calm and serene Olympian of statuary; art lovers crowd around this marble that appears alive to them.⁹⁵

Ernest Chesneau, in his Salon review of 18 May 1869, called the *Tired Bacchante* "a beautiful work, [it is made more] remarkable by the profound aptness of the expression."⁹⁶ Other critics also admired the work, including among them Marcello's most adamant supporter Ernest Fillonneau. In *Le Moniteur des arts*, he praised the piece in a lengthy paragraph:

The works of Marcello – read the Duchess Castiglione-Colonna – have always the privilege to stop, to hold, and to charm the visitor. Her Tired Bacchante will have its place alongside the Gorgone and the Bianca Capello already placed among the remarkable productions of contemporary sculpture. Marcello, who must have Prometheus somewhere in her genealogy since her chisel gives to the marble the fire of feeling and of passion, modifies in a very good way the tradition regarding the Bacchante. It is no longer the clumsy and vulgar creature whose crude charms inspire nothing other than disgust more or less pronounced. The interpretation by Marcello, so intelligent in its poetry, softens the lines, gives elegance to the shape and finesse to the traits. Again sensuality prevails and so it should be, but the sensuality of the Tired Bacchante puts an

95. M. de Thémînes, "Salon de 1869. IV. Sculpture," *La Patrie* (13 May 1869): n.p. "Et puisque je parle d'expression, admirez celle que Marcello (inutile de mettre un nom sous ce pseudonyme si favorablement connu des artistes et des gens du monde) que Marcello, dis-je, a donné à sa *Bacchante fatiguée* (buste en marbre). On sait si ce statuaire excelle à faire vivre le marbre. On se souvient de sa magnifique série de bustes de l'Exposition universelle, notamment de ses deux Marie-Antoinette, le reine et la détenue, la Marie-Antoinette de Trianon et celle de la Conciergerie – Cette fois il y a, comme je viens de le dire, le buste d'une *Bacchante*. L'ardente prêtresse, «lasse mais non rassasiée», se repose à contre-cœur; la paupière à demi-close, la figure contractée, la narine frémissante, la lèvre plissée, le sourcil légèrement froncé, elle montre sur son visage toute la fatigue de la danse érotique et voluptueuse à laquelle elle s'est livrée longuement. Les pampres mêmes qui la couronnent retombent fanés sur sa chevelure ruisselante. Les puristes peuvent préférer une tête classique, le calme et la sérénité olympienne de la statuaire; les amateurs entourent en foule ce marbre qui leur paraît vivant."

96. Ernest Chesneau, "Salon de 1869, Sculpture," *Le Constitutionnel* (18 May 1869): 2. "Le buste de La *Bacchante «fatiguée»* signée du pseudonyme Marcello; cette tête, d'un beau travail, remarquable par la justesse profonde de l'expression."

97. Ernest Fillonneau, "Salon de 1869, Sculpture," *Le Moniteur des arts* (11 June 1869): 2. "Les œuvres de Marcello, – lisez duchesse de Castiglione-Colonna, – ont toujours le privilège d'arrêter, de retenir, et de charmer le visiteur. Sa *Bacchante fatiguée* aura sa place à côté de la Gorgone et de la Bianca Capello, rangées déjà parmi les productions remarquables de la statuaire contemporaine. Marcello, qui doit avoir Prométhée quelque part dans sa généalogie, puisque son ciseau communique au marbre le feu du sentiment et de la passion, modifie très heureusement la tradition en ce qui concerne la Bacchante. Ce n'est plus l'épaisse et vulgaire créature dont les appâts grossiers n'inspirent qu'un dégoût plus ou moins prononcé. L'interprétation de Marcello, si intelligente dans sa poésie, adoucit les lignes, donne au galbe de l'élégance et aux traits de la finesse. La sensualité domine encore, et il le faut: mais la sensualité de la *Bacchante fatiguée* cesse de mentir à la Mythologie, qui n'a été peuplée de cuisinières que depuis Rubens. On s'attache, malgré soi, à cette ravissante tête prise par les vapeurs de l'amour, on voudrait fixer ce regard qui se voile, et attendre le réveil de ses charmes assoupis."

98. Al[rm]and de Pontmartin, "Salon de 1869," *L'Univers illustré* (19 June 1869): 390. "N'est-elle pas très moderne aussi, encore plus moderne, l'adorable *Bacchante fatiguée*, de MARCELLO? Oui, madame, vous avez fait un chef-d'œuvre, et ceux ou celles qui disent le contraire sont des jaloux ou des envieuses exaspérées par vos premiers succès. Mais tout le monde ne sait pas que les bacchantes étaient des prêtresses, qu'elles valaient mieux que leur réputation et que leur fatigue, après des excès de danse sacrée, ressemblait à celle des jeunes filles, parfaitement honnêtes d'ailleurs, qui ont un peu abusé de la polka ou de la valse pendant le carnaval. C'est dans le même sens que le chaste Virgile a dit: «...et virginibus *bacchata* Lacoenis Taygeta!...» Seulement, pour les ignorants et les profanes, c'est-à-dire pour l'immense majorité, le mot *bacchante* a une signification moins hiératique, et le buste de MARCELLO pourrait bien prolonger le malentendu. Cette belle tête inclinée en arrière, ces paupières à demi closes, cette chevelure dont le *beau désordre* est une merveille, ces joues légèrement amaigries dont on devine le tressaillement et la pâleur, ces lèvres entr'ouvertes sur des petites dents plus blanches que le marbre même, tout cet ensemble de lassitude et de langueur éveille des idées peu sacerdotales. Puisque nous sommes en plein mythologie, je dirai que Bacchus, le dieu du vin, a moins de part dans cette fatigue que Vénus Aphrodite; une Vénus délicate et savante, fille de la Renaissance, contemporaine du Primatice, de Jean Goujon et de Diane de Poitiers. L'œuvre est exquise; elle n'est pas antique. Il y a de la rêverie dans cette volupté, du raffinement dans cet art, une réminiscence de la vie mondaine dans ce souvenir de l'Hémus et du Cithéron."

*end to the lies about the Mythology that has been peopled only with cooks since Rubens. We are drawn despite ourselves, to this ravishing head overwhelmed by the fumes of love, one would like to stare at this vision, hidden from us, and wait for the awakening of these sleeping charms.*⁹⁷

Placing an overtly sexual figure in the Salon was particularly risky for a female artist. The conservative critic Armand de Pontmartin alluded to some of the fears that the *Tired Bacchante* was an image representing solely sexual satisfaction and drunken carousing:

Is it not also very modern, in fact ultra-modern, the adorable bacchante fatiguée of MARCELLO? Yes, madame, you have made a masterpiece, and those of them who say the contrary are jealous or envious, exasperated by your early success. But everyone does not know that bacchantes are priestesses, that they valued most their reputations and that their fatigue, after excessive sacred dancing, resembled that of some young girls, moreover perfectly honest, who have gone a little too far in a polka or a waltz during carnival. It is the same sense that the chaste Virgil had said:

«... et virginibus bacchata Lacoenis Taygeta! ...»

*For the ignorant and the profane only, that is to say for the large majority, the word bacchante has a less hieratic signification, and the bust by MARCELLO can well prolong the misunderstanding. This beautiful head inclined back, the eyelids half-closed, the hair of which the beautiful disorder is a marvel, these cheeks somewhat drawn from which one guesses the joys and the pallor, these lips half-open onto small teeth, more white than that of the marble, the entire ensemble of weariness and melancholy arouses some ideas not at all priestly. Since we are speaking of a kind of mythology, I will say that Bacchus, the god of wine, has played less of this fatigue than Venus Aphrodite; a Venus delicate and wise, daughter of the Renaissance, contemporary of Primatice, of Jean Goujon and of Diana of Poitiers. The work is exquisite; it is not antique. There is reverie in this voluptuous pleasure, a refinement of this art, a reminiscence of the society life of Hémus and Cithéron.*⁹⁸

Thus contemporary critics did not overlook the *Tired Bacchante* and her palpable sexuality was openly observed. It is particularly remarkable that Marcello received such glowing reviews for this work, since such sexually-charged images were frequently censored when they came from the studio of a female artist. Perhaps her pseudonym "liberated" the critics to speak freely about her art even though they knew she was a woman.

Additionally Marcello may have learned something from her friend Auguste Clésinger, whose own *Bacchante* and his related and earlier work *Woman Bitten By a Snake* (both 1847), each depicting a woman lying down in an ecstatic pose, were known for their overt sexuality and were sometimes criticized for it.⁹⁹ In other words, depicting a work entitled “Bacchante” as a bust (that is, as an upright figure) connotes a different sensibility than one of the same title shown reclining. The fact that Clésinger had given his *Bacchante* this mythological label did not save him from criticism because the pose of the work trumped the title. Thus, Marcello’s compositional choice for the *Tired Bacchante* may have also helped to defend it against critical attacks.

Prosper Mérimée, an ardent letter writer and confidante of Marcello’s, was often bluntly honest with her and gave criticism where he felt it was necessary. After stating in a previous letter that he would write to her after he saw her *Tired Bacchante* at the Salon, Mérimée did as promised on 2 June 1869:

*I have seen your Bacchante. She pleases me. However, I find that her face is too large at the base, [and] I would say the jaw is a little square. People falsely claim that novelists and artists always make portraits of themselves. I would have liked it if you had posed for the jaw of your Bacchante. I find also that the muscle of the neck on the right side is a little bulging. The eyes and the mouth are most excellent.*¹⁰⁰

Although always kind, Mérimée often chided Marcello about her opinions on art and her choice of artists to appreciate (for example, Carpeaux, Courbet, Delacroix and Goya, all of whom he disliked and she greatly admired). Yet, their correspondence spanned six years, between 1864 and 1870, the year of the author’s death. Marcello was one of the last three people to whom Mérimée wrote before his death, and she owned two artworks by Mérimée in gouache, now in the Fondation Marcello. Theirs was a solid friendship, regardless of differences of opinion and Mérimée’s bold estimations of her work, which Marcello nonetheless appreciated.

Michelangelo had once again provided inspiration for Marcello’s sculpture. Having spent a significant amount of time in Italy during the years 1868-69, Marcello undoubtedly saw and was inspired by Michelangelo’s version of the same subject, his *Bacchus* (c.1497-98, fig. 3-38). Both *Bacchus* and *Tired Bacchante* share, in their expressions, the palpable sense of drunkenness and rapture, complete with parted lips and unfocused

99. For a discussion of Clésinger’s *Bacchante* and the criticism leveled against it by English critics, see Patricia Mainardi, “French Sculpture, English Morals: Clésinger’s *Bacchante* at the Crystal Palace, 1851,” *Gazette des beaux-arts* (December 1983): 215-20.

100. Pierre Trahard, ed., *Prosper Mérimée, lettres à la duchesse de Castiglione-Colonna*, 102. “J’ai vu votre *Bacchante*. Elle me plaît. Cependant je trouve qu’elle a le visage trop large du bas, je veux dire la mâchoire un peu carrée. On prétend faussement que les romanciers et les artistes font toujours leur portrait. Je voudrais que vous eussiez posé pour la mâchoire de votre *Bacchante*. Je trouve encore que le muscle du col du côté droit est un peu saillant. Les yeux et la bouche sont excellentissimes.”



Fig. 3-37. Marcello. Drawing for the *Tired Bacchante*.
Circa 1869. Graphite drawing.
Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.

eyes. Both are crowned with the obligatory grapes and grape leaves, the usual attributes of bacchante figures and of Bacchus himself. There are two major differences between the two works; the first, and most obvious, being that Michelangelo's sculpture is a full-scale figure while Marcello's is a bust. The second difference is that *Bacchus* is a male and the *Tired Bacchante* is a female.

But is this really a difference, or a similar reading by both artists of the androgyny of bacchante figures? It has been noted by Rona Goffen that Michelangelo's Bacchus is "bigendered," and that its "feminized masculinity has little precedent in ancient art."¹⁰¹ She has additionally noted that Michelangelo's figure is a "homogenized sexual mélange of male and female qualities."¹⁰² The same exact words can be applied to Marcello's *Tired Bacchante*, who has long, braided tresses and a breast, complete with hardened nipple, peeking out from her garments, but was, according to Marcello's mother, modeled after the features of the Spanish painter Eduardo Rosales-Martínez (1836-1873).¹⁰³ If we take this to be true, and it is possible, given that Rosales and Marcello were friends, that she owned a work by him, kept a photograph of him (still conserved at the Fondation Marcello), and made a drawn portrait of him around the time of the sculpture's production (fig. 3-39), it leads to some interesting questions regarding Marcello's treatment of her female figures. Michelangelo had taken a male figure and endowed him with feminine qualities, such as a supple physique and a feminine visage. Marcello, instead, took a female figure and gave her masculine qualities of drunkenness and overt sexuality. This was sensed by Mérimée, who was so shocked that a woman could know of such things and apply them to a figure of another woman, that he just had to ask her about them.

According to Patricia Mathews, "the androgyne... served as a vehicle for spiritual transcendence so central to the Symbolist aesthetic."¹⁰⁴ Mathews goes on to argue that the Symbolist androgyne denies sexual difference, and indeed, in Marcello's early Symbolist work the androgyny of her *Tired Bacchante* seems to be underscored. The figure's expression borders on the post-orgasmic, her ecstasy quenched. (Hence the reason that she is "tired" in the first place.) Yet the Bacchante is not shown as part of an orgy, or being raped, or submitting to the sexual advances of another figure. Instead she seems to bathe in her sexual satisfaction. In a single work at the height of her career, Marcello here accomplishes the depiction of a moment of "spiritual transcendence," which the Symbolists so often tried to imply in their own work. Marcello also managed to avoid severe criticism for creating an image of female sexual perversity by giving the sculpture a mythological title.

101. Goffen, 99.

102. Goffen, 99.

103. Henriette Bessis, *Marcello: Sculpteur* (Fribourg: Musée d'art et d'histoire, 1980), 143. "D'après la Comtesse d'Affry, sa mère, son ami le peintre Rosalès aurait posé pour les traits de la Bacchante." Bessis does not give a citation for the source of this information. The face of the *Tired Bacchante* has some affinities with images of Rosalès.

104. Mathews, 90.

Marcello time and again metamorphosed real people into mythological and heroic figures. As with the *Tired Bacchante*, she habitually turned a portrait bust of a relative or close friend into a mythological figure. This seems to have been the case with many of her other busts, including *La Belle Romaine* (a portrait of Marcello's cousin Olga, the Marquise de Tallenay); *Medjé* (a portrait of Madame Rodocanachi, née Isabelle Raynouard); and *Phoebe* (modeled after the society figure Mélanie de Pourtalès). Thus, the imaginary in Marcello's works is often superimposed onto the real, allowing for a heightened sense of sexuality and sensuality in busts of female figures. Such tangible corporeality would have been inappropriate if applied to busts exhibited as straight portraiture. In the artist's masterpiece, the *Pythia*, it will be seen that the figure embodies the traits of the mythological being, the Roman model who posed for the piece, and the artist herself, resulting in a *tour-de-force* of sexual and mystical connotations.

A NEW FORMULA FOR HIGH ART: *THE PYTHIA*

Shortly after the opening of the celebrated Paris Opéra, the architect Charles Garnier (1825-1898) published an extraordinarily detailed account of the history of the building, in which he discussed many of the artists involved in its construction and decoration. In a chapter entitled "Du grand escalier," Garnier wrote, with a mixture of caution and praise, about the only decorative work in the entire building that was not especially created for the Opéra:

*Since I am discussing women, I want to take this opportunity to immediately say some words on an interesting work of one of these women, the Duchess Colonna (in sculpture, Marcello). It is she who has sculpted the Pythia which is found under the central vault, and it is only fair that we acknowledge that it is a virile work, robust and far from being mediocre. This statue has been criticized by some, praised by others, such is the fate of human things; even divine things do not escape this; but these discussions do not subtract anything from its energetic allure and its characteristic silhouette.*¹⁰⁵

Marcello's *Pythia*, (fig. 3-40) in the Opéra, the sculpture for which Marcello is best known, will be discussed in terms of its genesis and reception. This work was not the product of a lone creator struggling with her materials in order to give form to an inspired idea, but had a complex history, in which not only the artist but also models and colleagues had an important role to play.¹⁰⁶ Additionally, ways in which the reception of this work was conditioned by the fact that its author was a woman will be explored. Although



Fig. 3-38. Michelangelo Buonarroti. *Bacchus*. Circa 1497-98. Marble. Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence, Italy. Photo: Alinari / Art Resource, NY.

105. Charles Garnier, *Le Nouvel Opéra* (Paris: Éditions du Linteau, 2001), 296. Originally published in Paris by Ducher & Cie., 1878-81. "Puisque j'en suis sur le chapitre des femmes, je veux en profiter pour dire tout de suite quelques mots sur une œuvre intéressante due à l'une d'elles, madame la duchesse Colonna (en sculpture Marcello). C'est elle qui a modelé la statue de la Pythie qui se trouve sous la voûte centrale, et c'est une justice à lui rendre que de reconnaître que c'est une œuvre virile, robuste et loin d'être indifférente. Cette statue a été critiquée par les uns, louée par les autres; c'est le sort des choses humaines; c'est même celui des choses divines; mais ces discussions n'enlèvent rien à son allure énergique et à sa silhouette caractérisée."

106. The sociologist Howard S. Becker discusses this phenomenon in his text *Art Worlds* (University of California, 1982).



Fig. 3-41.
Marcello. *Abyssinian Chieftain*. 1870.
Polychromed bronze.
Dahesh Museum of Art, New York.
Photograph by the author.

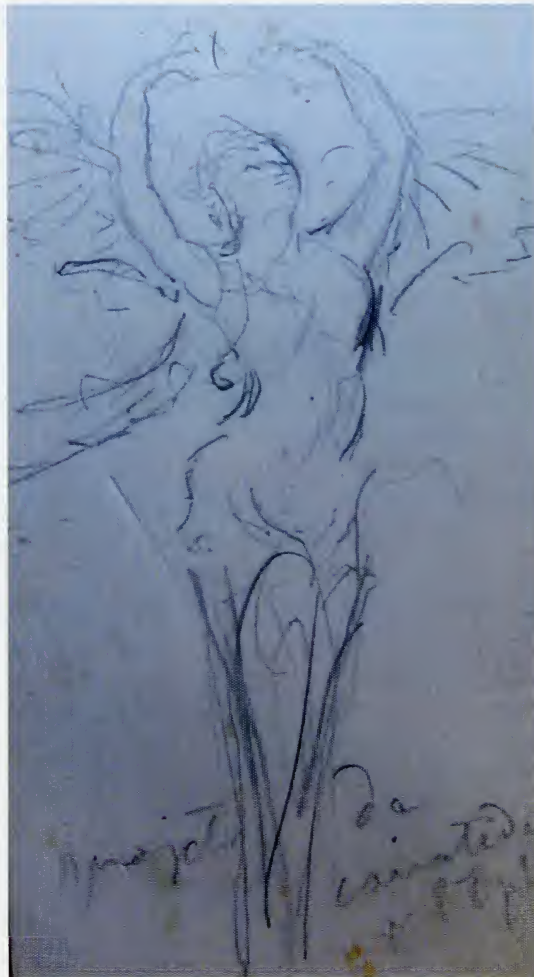


Fig. 3-42.
Marcello. Drawing for the Caryatid
Project for the Opéra Garnier.
Circa 1867. Fondation Marcello,
Fribourg.

Marcello was often very well received by the press and by fellow artists, she had been shunned more than once due to her gender, her choice of media, and, as we shall see, her choice of subject. Critics either admired women who could produce “masculine” sculptures or condemned them for attempting a career in the male-dominated field of sculpture. Examples of such critiques will be examined in relation to the *Pythia*.

After having earned critical success in Paris and London during the early 1860s, Marcello spent the later part of the decade traveling. In 1868, as was seen, she sojourned for several months in Spain in the company of Georges Clairin and Henri Regnault. She later traveled to Rome in 1869 where she stayed for an entire year. Here, too, she spent much time with artist-friends, including the composer Charles-François Gounod, the painter Ernest Hébert, and Regnault. While in Rome, she prepared two submissions for the 1870 Salon. One of these was a sculpture of a male Arab entitled the *Abyssinian Chieftain*. It would ultimately be purchased by the state, becoming part of the Musée du Luxembourg; it is currently located at the Musée d'Orsay. (A polychromed bronze version of this work is in the collection of the Dahesh Museum of Art in New York; see fig. 3-41.)

The other submission for the Salon was *Pythia*, sometimes referred to as *The Sybil*. Garnier acquired the work for the Opéra after he had admired it in Rome in 1869. As early as 1867, the architect had contacted Marcello to ask her to create a set of caryatids for the building's Grand Foyer, but for some unknown reason this project had been abandoned. Evidence for the caryatid project exists in a letter from Marcello to her mother, where she mentions Garnier's interest in having her sculpt such works for the building, and drawings by Marcello exist depicting sketches for the sculptures (figs. 3-42 through 3-44).¹⁰⁷ Since the caryatid project did not develop further, the artist was especially excited about the potential sale of the *Pythia* to Garnier, suggested later, and in a letter to her mother, dated 17 May 1869, Marcello noted that “Garnier told Regnault that he will take the Sibyl for the foyer of the Opera, how happy I would be if that succeeds! I have been working with more enthusiasm with this in mind.”¹⁰⁸

The original idea for the pose, if not exactly the original model, for the *Pythia* seems to have come from a lived experience. While caring for a dying cousin named Clémence de Montenach, née de Reynold (1839-1865), the artist witnessed her in various states of discomfort and hysteria. Once, Marcello witnessed Clémence rise from her bed, her



Fig. 3-39. Marcello. Portrait of Eduardo Rosalès-Martinez (after a photograph). Circa 1869. Graphite drawing. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.

107. These caryatids are mentioned in a letter from Adèle Colonna (Marcello) to her mother, the Countess Lucie d'Affry, dated 19 July 1867, Archives FM. “Hier Garnier est venu voir mes cariatides, il est enchanté de mon travail, cela est bon, du moins.”

108. Letter from Adèle Colonna (Marcello) to her mother, the Countess Lucie d'Affry, dated 17 May 1869, Archives FM. “Garnier a dit à Regnault qu'il prendra la sibylle pour le foyer de l'Opéra, quel bonheur si cela réussit! Je travaille avec bien plus de zèle avec cette idée!”



Fig. 3-40.
Marcello. *Pythia*. 1870 (Installed 1875.)
Bronze. Opéra Garnier, Paris.
Photograph copyright Lee Sandstead, 2003.

blouse falling from her body and while ravaged with fever and tremors, her arms were stretched out wildly and her hair was untamed. According to family tradition, the artist seems to have used Clémence as original inspiration for the *Pythia*.¹⁰⁹

Later, for the actual posing of the figure, Marcello certainly shared models with other artists. She would often become intrigued with the features of a particular model, only later constructing a literal meaning for the painting. While in Rome, Marcello writes of “borrowing” a model that Regnault used for one of his paintings. In a letter to her mother dated 27 July 1869, she records the commencement of a new work (not the *Pythia*, but a bust of a female figure that she was working on concurrently): “I have made another bust, a smiling Moorish woman, as a pendant to the grave-looking Abyssinian; the model was the little “Zingara Marie” [literally, Gypsy Marie], who was the inspiration for Regnault’s masterpiece.”¹¹⁰ Marcello here makes reference to Regnault’s well-known *Salomé*, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (fig. 3-45). That Marcello and Regnault shared a model was confirmed by Henri Cazalis, who noted in his study of Regnault of 1872 that “the model who served him for the composition of the head [of *Salomé*], and whom [Regnault] had met in Rome, also served Mme la Duchess Colona [sic] for a bust of an African woman, which she made at the same time.”¹¹¹ It is unclear whether Marcello used the same model for both the *Pythia* and the bust of the African woman, as the latter has disappeared. However, the two works share several elements with each other. A drawing by Marcello (fig. 3-46) seems to be a sketch after Regnault’s *Salomé*, while *Salomé* clearly shares elements with Marcello’s *Pythia* such as the seated pose, position of the feet, disheveled appearance, and the elaborate treatment of the hair.

The similarities between Marcello’s *Pythia* and Regnault’s *Salomé* must be seen less in terms of the traditional notion of “influence” than as a result of a complex give-and-take between two artists who shared models, saw one another on a regular basis, and even worked together. Apparently, both Marcello and Regnault started their works as simple studies of a model and only later developed these into thematic works. Both must have seen the model as a figure of strength, which cause them to think of mythical, powerful women. There is further evidence to suggest that the two artists not only shared a model but also were inspired by one another’s works. Regnault toyed with several titles including *Hérodiade*, *Esclave favorite*, and *Poetassa de Córdoba*, before settling on *Salomé*.¹¹² It is possible that this decision was inspired by an etching by Marcello, produced around 1868, when she was working alongside Regnault in Spain (fig. 3-47); In Marcello’s etching,

109. Marcello’s witnessing of Clémence in a state of ecstasy and hysteria is mentioned in Odette d’Alcantara, *Marcello, Adèle d’Affry, duchesse Castiglione Colonna 1836 1879, sa vie, son œuvre, sa pensée et ses amis*. (Geneva: Éditions générales, 1961), 132-33, and Anita Petrovski, “La Pythie,” Brochure (Fribourg: Société des amis du Musée d’art et d’histoire, 1999): 2. Petrovski focuses on Clémence as the model for the Pythia in “La Pythie, une sculpture de l’avenir par Marcello,” *Art + Architecture en Suisse* (Spring 2004): 42-45. Marcello does mention “pauvre Clémence,” in a number of letters from around 1869. I have not uncovered, however, an actual document where Marcello specifically states that she used Clémence as her inspiration for the pose, and neither Alcantara nor Petrovski cite the original document. Although I agree with the suggestion that Clémence sparked the idea for the pose (since Marcello suggests it in her letters), this cousin died in 1865, and thus was not, and could not have physically been, the model who had posed for the work. This section explores the possible models for the Pythia rather than the inspiration for the idea. For this reason, rightly or not, I decided to leave out Clémence’s possible role in the origin of the Pythia in my article “A New Formula for High Art: The Genesis and Reception of Marcello’s Pythia,” *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* (Autumn 2003), www.19thc-artworldwide.org.

110. Letter from Adèle Colonna (Marcello) to her mother, the Countess Lucie d’Affry, dated 27 July 1869, Archives FM. “J’ai fait un autre buste, une femme maurisque souriante, comme pendant au grave Abyssin, avec comme modèle la petite Zingara Marie, dont Regnault a fait un chef-d’œuvre...”

111. Henri Cazalis, *Henri Regnault: Sa vie et son œuvre* (Paris: Alphonse Lemerre, 1872), 73. “Le modèle qui lui servit pour composer la tête [of *Salomé*], et qu’il rencontra à Rome, servit aussi à Mme la duchesse Colona [sic] pour un buste de femme africaine qu’elle fit à la même époque.” It is unclear for which work Marcello used Regnault’s model; although she may have easily used Zingara Marie for *Pythia*, Marcello was also working on other busts of female figures at the same time.

112. New York, Archives of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Department of Accessions and Catalogues.



Fig. 3-44.
Marcello. Drawing for the Caryatid
Project for the Opéra Garnier.
Circa 1867. Graphite drawing.
Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.

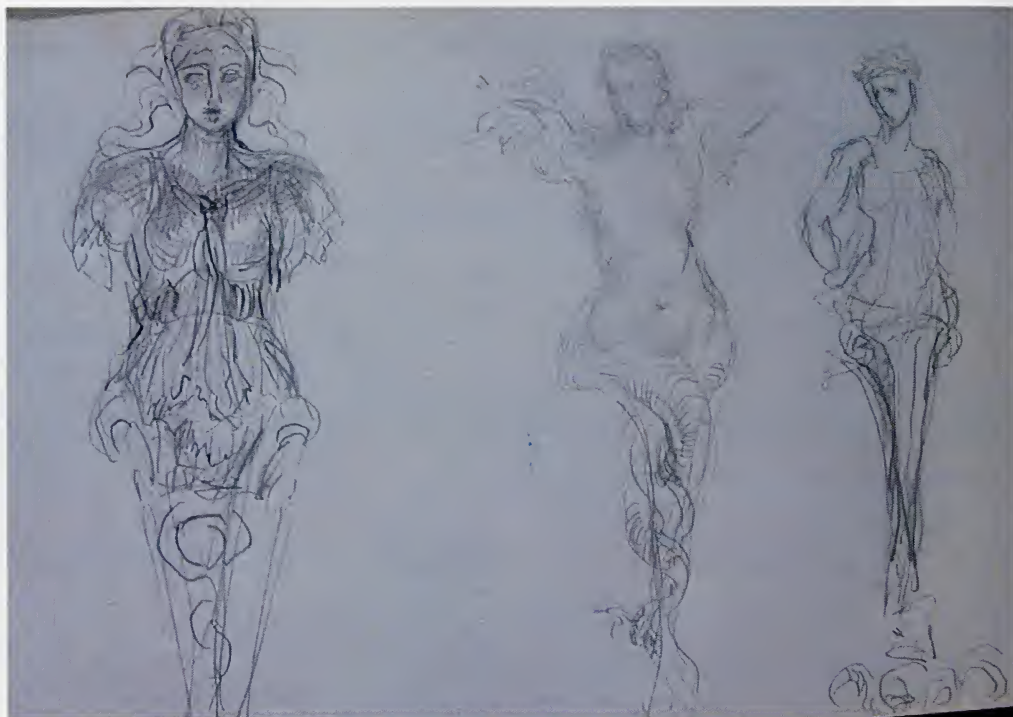


Fig. 3-43.
Marcello. Drawings for the Caryatid
Project for the Opéra Garnier.
Circa 1867. Graphite drawings.
Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.

Salomé stands holding a large plate topped with the head of the Baptist. The deep cross-hatching and billowy sleeves of her dress lend a sense of energy to the image, not unlike Regnault's painting. Whether Marcello's etched *Salomé* influenced Regnault to rework his painting and give it the same title is not known, but is it generally accepted that he did so as an afterthought, after enlarging his painting (begun in 1869, after Marcello began her etchings) from a simple portrait. In any event, there was certainly an equal exchange of influence on the subject of these works between the two artists. It is interesting to note that, while both Salomé and Pythia were powerful women, Salomé is the typical femme fatale, who used her influence to have a man killed. Pythia, on the other hand, is fortified by the divine inspiration of Apollo, and uses her power to guide those who seek her council.

According to Marie Lathers, Zingara Marie served only as the initial model for Regnault's *Salomé*. Regnault seems to have finished the painting in Morocco, using Aïscha-Tchama, a young Arab maid who posed for him and Clairin, as a later and final model.¹¹³ According to the Metropolitan Museum of Art archives, *Salomé* was begun in Rome in March of 1869 while the twenty-four year old Regnault was in residence at the French Academy in the Villa Medici. The museum archive conserves a clipping from an unknown journal depicting a woman known as "Maria Latini," (fig. 3-48) and which contains the caption "the model for Regnault's *Salomé*." Yet nothing further is known of Latini apart from this clipping.¹¹⁴

Regnault later enlarged the painting to a bust-length composition called *Study of an African Woman*. Finally, after adding canvas to three sides of the work, he completed the painting in Tangier in 1870, adding the passages that included the knife and basin. Some sources indicate that Regnault's father encouraged him to enlarge the work, while later writers note that the artist did so, on a suggestion from the influential Spanish painter Mariano Fortuny (1838-1874).¹¹⁵ Similarly, Marcello's *Pythia*, which was begun as a bust cut off at the torso, was later enlarged to include the figure's entire body and a full tripod on which she sits.

Just as Regnault used another model to complete his painting, Marcello used her own hands, arms, shoulders, and upper body to model *Pythia*. In Rome, Marcello had her own arms, back and shoulders cast in plaster to use for the *Pythia*, possibly because models were scarce during summer months.¹¹⁶ Later, Louise Clément-Carpeaux, daughter of the

113. Marie Lathers, *Bodies of Art: French Literary Realism and the Artist's Model* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001), 38. "One is tempted to believe that Regnault finished his most famous canvas, *Salomé* (1870) with Aïscha-Tchama (whose name is sometimes given as Chamma or Aïcha) as his model, although he had begun it the year before in Rome." Lathers also makes note of a mention of Aïscha-Tchama in Charles Virmaitre's *Paris-Palette* (1888, p. 91), where he recalled one could recognize her in the streets of Montmartre, destitute: "it's Aïcha, the woman who served as model for the *Salomé* by the painter Henri Regnault."

114. I first saw the clipping in New York, at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, in the archives of the Department of European Paintings.

115. Lucy H. Hooper, "From Abroad: Paris Letters," *Appleton's Journal: A Magazine of General Literature* 14 (31 July 1875):154-6, notes that Fortuny said he was not entering the Salon of 1870 because he had nothing to exhibit, but suggested that Regnault "take that head which you sketched lately and put a body to it; nothing could be better."

116. In a letter from Adèle d'Affry to the Comtesse d'Affry, Rome, dated 13 July 1869, the artist describes having herself cast by "un habile modeleur." Archives FM. "J'écris ce matin avec la patte fatiguée, car je viens de subir un moulage des bras et du dos pour ma statue dont les parties dorsales, les épaules veux-je dire, sont tout empêtrées par l'armature ce qui rend le travail d'art là-dessus impossible en ce moment. Il faut donc attendre que ce soit moulé, et comme alors, après le moulage je filerai, je l'espère, je laisse mes épaules à Rome, dans la pose juste du sujet. Un habile modeleur rajustera cela, en cognant mon dos pour cette partie-là. Mais c'était un beau dévouement maternel, car l'affaire n'a rien d'agréable. J'ai aussi fait mouler le pied, et un peu de jambe pour étudier à défaut des modèles qui s'envolent tous à la montagne. Et puis vous m'avez assez bien bâtie, il faut en profiter tant qu'il en est temps. Je travaille beaucoup, et la statue sera bientôt prête, je l'espère."



Fig. 3-46.
Marcello. *Head of a Woman* (possibly after Regnault's *Salomé*).
Circa 1869. Graphite drawing. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.



Fig. 3-45.
Henri Regnault. *Salomé*. 1869-70. Oil on canvas.
Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of George F. Baker,
1916 (16.95).
Image © Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

sculptor Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux, one of his first biographers and a sculptor herself, noted many years later that her mother recognized Marcello's features in the *Pythia*. In discussing the work and its supporters, Clément-Carpeaux stated,

*This figure of Pythia (a portrait strongly resembling the Duchess herself, as my mother told me), is today displayed in the vestibule of the Opéra, under the large staircase of the ground floor. Evidently, the support of Carpeaux and more still that of the marquis de Piennes, fully devoted to the charming artist, were not foreign to this success.*¹¹⁷

Both Marcello and Regnault thus acted as modern Zeuxis, combining the features of various models to create the effects they desired. Marcello's use of her own body for the bare-breasted Pythia is especially intriguing. Surely it would have been scandalous to admit publicly that the arms, hands, shoulders and bare breasts of the figure shown in the Salon were modeled (and, in part, cast) from the artist's own. But it was not the first time that Marcello used her own body as a model for her sculptures, as she often made drawings of her own body and cast her shoulders and bust (without her head) for use as a study. She profoundly identified with all of her sculpted female figures, considering them as her offspring, noting on her tombstone that she was survived by her works ("Elle aime le beau et le bien et ses œuvres lui survivent").

Marcello's choice of the Pythian sibyl as a subject for this sculpture reflects the artist's lifelong interest in ancient stories and myths and her fascination with powerful, heroic female figures. According to the best-known version of the Delphic myth, Pythia was a priestess who served Apollo, the ancient Greek god of prophecy.¹¹⁸ Many women served as "Pythia" at the temple of Apollo over a period of twelve centuries. These female prophets, each known as the oracle of Delphi, were, according to legend, totally fearless. (The word "oracle," from the latin *oraculum* "to speak," can refer to both a person through whom a deity is believed to speak and to the place where prophecies are spoken, as it is more commonly used.) Each priestess was protected from the fumes that rose from below because she remained in an upper-level cell in the Temple of Apollo. When a prophesy was requested, she would descend to the basement cell of the temple, mount her tripod, and breathe in sacred fumes that were emitted from a fault line below the temple. This would cause the priestess to become intoxicated and seemingly possessed, and, her body writhing violently, she would predict the future to those who beckoned to her. She was known also to answer questions, make prophecies, and give orders. Only there, on her tripod, inebri-

117. Louise Clément-Carpeaux, *La vérité sur l'œuvre et la vie de J.-B. Carpeaux (1827-1875)*, (Paris: Dousset et Bigerelle, 1934-35), 23. "Cette figure de la Pythie (portrait fort ressemblant de la duchesse elle-même, m'a dit ma mère), est aujourd'hui exposé dans le vestibule de l'Opéra, sous le grand escalier du rez-de-chaussée. Évidemment, l'appui de Carpeaux et plus encore celui du marquis de Piennes, tout dévoué à la charmante artiste, ne furent pas étrangers à ce succès."

118. The best secondary sources on the Delphic myths are H.W. Parke and D.E.W. Wormell, *The Delphic Oracle*, 2 Vols., (Oxford: Blackwell, 1959), Joseph Fontenrose, *Python: A Study of the Delphic Myth and its Origins* (Berkeley: University of California at Los Angeles, 1959), and Roger Lipsey's *Have You been to Delphi? Tales of the Ancient Oracle for Modern Minds* (Albany: State University of New York, 2001).



Fig. 3-48. Newspaper clipping showing a photograph of Maria Latini, the supposed model for Regnault's *Salomé*. Archives, Department of European Paintings and Sculpture, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Image © Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

ated by the fumes, could she experience a divine intervention or possession that allowed her to become a clairvoyant who predicts the future.¹¹⁹ The Sybil's power was legendary, and the greatest of men were said to have visited her for her guidance and wisdom.

The three earliest stories of the Pythia are found in ancient texts such as the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, Aeschylus' *Eumenides*, and in the chorus of Euripides' *Iphigeneia in Tauris*. Although Plutarch, the Greek biographer and philosopher, wrote about the priestesses and the fumes, one of the most vivid accounts of such women comes from Book Six of Virgil's *Aeneid*, in which a similar priestess of Apollo rendered the oracles (in this case the word refers to the answers provided by the priestess) and mystical visions that came to her ferociously and violently:

*The vast cave standing there apart, the retreat of the awesome Sibyl, into whom Delian Apollo, the God of Prophecy, breathes mind and spirit as he reveals to her the future...They had reached the threshold of the cavern when the virgin priestess cried: "Now is the time to ask your destinies. It is the god. The god is here." At that moment, as she spoke in front of the doors, her face was transfigured, her color changed, her hair fell in disorder about her head and she stood there, with heaving breast and her wild heart burst- ing in ecstasy. She seemed to grow in stature and speak as no mortal had ever spoken.*¹²⁰

Although traditionally the Sybil was a virgin, the passages concerning her in Virgil's text are extremely sexual. Seeing her as a powerful force fighting for and against Apollo's hold, Virgil continued,

*But the priestess was still in wild frenzy in her cave and still resisting Apollo. The more she tried to shake her body free of the great god the harder he strained upon her foaming mouth, taming that wild heart and moulding her by his pressure...with these words from her shrine the Sibyl...sang her fearful riddling prophecies, her voice booming in the cave as she wrapped the truth in darkness, while Apollo shook the reins upon her in her frenzy and dug the spurs into her flanks.*¹²¹

Marcello's sculpture includes many visual codes providing a similarly sexual reading of the figure. The bare breasts, wild coiffure, and over dynamic pose of the *Pythia* correspond with traditional analyses of the priestess.

119. Once thought to be simply the product of myth, the legends of the oracles at Delphi may have been based on fact. Potent gases, particularly ethylene, ethane, and methane, have been found to actually emit from the floor of the Temple of Apollo in Greece. These gases are known to produce altered mental states. See William J. Broad, "For Delphic Oracle, Fumes and Visions," *New York Times*, Science Times, Section F (19 March 2002): F1, F4.

120. Virgil, *The Aeneid*, Trans. David West (New York and London: Penguin Classics, 1990 [ca. 29 BC]), 132, 134.

121. Virgil, 134-5.

Placing Marcello within a specific style or movement is not an easy task, yet her late work does prefigure the Symbolist movement, as seen with her other works earlier in this chapter. Her *Pythia* has many Symbolist characteristics, including the exploration of decadence, irrational states of mind, an interest in the occult and the supernatural, and a synthesis or combination of elements from other art forms, such as classical mythology and music (she may have been thinking here of a Sybil from an opera by Lully), to create a total artistic experience. Organic and inorganic forms, of particular interest to Symbolists, are evident by the tripod that metamorphoses into *animalier* groups at the base of the sculpture. Her drawings for the tripod of the *Pythia*, complete with organic forms and sinuous lines, prefigure the later movement (fig. 3-49). Additionally, the *Pythia* conforms to the *femme fatale* type, another important Symbolist motif.

Marcello thought the *Pythia* to be her masterpiece, and in a letter to Carpeaux sent from Rome and dated 30 March 1870, she described the work in detail:

*My dear Carpeaux, I have sent an important piece to the Salon for this year; it is a Pythia on her tripod, a sort of gypsy woman, agitated by her fateful gift. It is bizarre, energetic, and not at all systematic, so I am going to have everyone against me who follows the regiment, which is a lot of people in France. I hope that you will lend to my defense your friendship and the natural sympathy that a generous and original nature, such as yours, must feel for everyone who dares to struggle, responding by perservering in work, to the continual harshness of the awards jury.*¹²²

She continued in the same letter, describing the difficulties she had with shipping the piece to Paris and additionally asked Carpeaux to see that it was exhibited properly:

*Twice the piece collapsed, I restarted it and I did not move for a year until it was finished. On the way to Paris [the maquette] broke into a hundred pieces, and so required more time than one counted on for casting, - you see it now under the unfavorable aspects of plaster, but Thiébault [sic] promises the bronze in time for the opening of the Salon, and I am asking you to ask for a good place for it, that will create a favorable impression on the public.*¹²³



Fig. 3-47. Marcello. *Salomé*. Circa 1868. Etching. Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg.

122. Clément-Carpeaux, 22. "Mon cher Carpeaux, j'ai envoyé une figure importante au Salon de cette année; c'est une Pythie sur le trépied, une sorte de gitane agitée par le don fatidique. C'est bizarre, énergique, et pas du tout systématique, aussi vais-je avoir contre moi tout ce qui s'enrégimente. C'est beaucoup de monde en France. J'espère que vous prêterez à ma défense votre amitié et la sympathie naturelle qu'une nature généreuse et originale, telle que la vôtre, doit ressentir pour tout ce qui ose lutter, répondant par la persévérance au travail à de continuelles duretés de la part du jury des récompenses."

123. Clément-Carpeaux, 22. "Deux fois la figure a croulé, je l'ai recommencée et n'ai bougé d'un an jusqu'à ce qu'elle fût terminée. Dans le voyage de Paris elle s'est brisée en cent morceaux, ce qui a exigé plus de temps qu'on ne comptait pour la fonte, - vous la voyez donc sous l'aspect défavorable du plâtre, mais Thiébault [sic] promet le bronze pour l'ouverture du Salon, et je vous prie de demander pour elle une bonne place, capable de favoriser l'impression sur le public."

Fig. 3-49.
 Marcello. Drawings for the tripod base of the *Pythia*.
 Circa 1868-70. Ink on paper.
 Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.



Fig. 3-50.
 Amédée-Charles-Henri de Noé, known as Cham. 4713
 – M. Marcello. From *Cham au Salon de 1870* (Paris:
 Arnaud de Vresse, 1870).



4713. — M. MARCELLO.
 Projet de ramboteau pour dame. Tellement commode qu'on
 appellera cela des *incommodités*.

Many of the reviews of *Pythia*, which was ultimately accepted and shown in the Salon of 1870, were positive. Even the conservative critic Armand de Pontmartin wrote that “this energetic, lively, palpitating bronze has rendered to me, on the contrary, much better than the cold effigies of gods and goddesses, the feeling of these ancient symbols where fear was one of the forms of belief and where religious inspiration often resembled a sort of demonique possession.”¹²⁴ Camille Lemonnier remarked that the Sibyl “balances herself on the side of a tripod in a wild and superb attitude.”¹²⁵ The strongest praise came from Ernest Fillonneau, critic and director of *Moniteur des arts*:

*The success that we predicted for Marcello's Pythia before the exhibit has been fulfilled and this masterpiece is sharing with Henri Regnault's Salomé, of the painting Salon, the honors of the current discussion. The enlightened members of the public unanimously acknowledge especially in the Pythia a new formula of high art, the passionate search for the beautiful on a philosophical principle and finally one of the most daring and gripping conceptions of contemporary sculpture.... Concerning the Abyssinian Chieftain, also by Marcello, it is not and cannot be challenged by anybody[.]*¹²⁶

Additionally, on 21 June 1870, M. de Thémènes, writing for *La Patrie*, similarly praised the sculpture:

Here is the Pythia of Marcello (whose pseudonym we respect). As all works that are marked with the seal of genius, this bronze has very fervent admirers, as well as critics. Of course, there is in this work ardor, vigor, and a very rare boldness in its composition. One feels that the artist has a divine passion; while modeling his Pythia, he has had to appropriate for himself the supernatural might of the model. The priestess of Apollo is on her tripod, inspired by this god, pronouncing her dark responses. It has been said that statuary requires quietness and seriousness. This is too generalized and it removes half of its power. Although he broke this law, the artist of the Laocöon nonetheless left an everlasting work. One cannot give the same pose and the same expression to Minerva and to Pythia. Let us not forget the precept of Horace: Sit Medea ferox [Let Medea be fierce], etc.

*Near the bronze one also admires his Abyssinian Chieftain, a bust in marble and bronze of great character and great style.*¹²⁷

124. A[rmand] de Pontmartin, “Salon de 1870,” *L'Univers illustré*, (18 June 1870): 394. “Ceci posé, je déclare que je ne vois rien de risible dans la Pythie, de Marcello, et que ce bronze énergique, vivant, palpitant, m'a rendu, au contraire, bien mieux que de froides effigies de dieux ou de déesses, le sentiment de ces antiques symboles où l'effroi était une des formes de la croyance et où l'inspiration religieuse ressemblait à une sorte de possession démoniaque.”

125. Camille Lemonnier, *Salon de Paris 1870*, (Paris: Morel et Cie., 1870), 231. “Je cite encore MM. Chevet, Deleplanche, Morice, Cordier, Rivey, Gouget et surtout cet original et fougueux biffons Marcello, si savant et si ignorant, dont la Pythie, cambrée en manière de femme alpage, se crispe sur le bord d'un trépied dans une attitude extravagante et superbe.”

126. Ernest Fillonneau, “Salon de 1870: Sculpture,” *Le Moniteur des arts* (24 May 1870):2. “Le succès que nous prédisions, avant l'exposition, à la Pythie de Marcello, s'est pleinement réalisé, et cette œuvre magistrale partage avec la *Salomé* d'Henri Regnault, du Salon de peinture, les honneurs de la discussion. La partie éclairée du public s'accorde à reconnaître, surtout dans la Pythie, une formule nouvelle du grand art, la recherche passionnée du beau sur une donnée philosophique, la réalisation, enfin, d'une des conceptions les plus hardies et les plus saisissantes de la statuaire contemporaine... Quant au buste du Chef Abyssin, également par Marcello, il n'est et ne peut-être contesté par personne[.]”

127. M. de Thémènes, “Salon de 1870. XIV,” *La Patrie* (21 June 1870), n.p. “Voici la Pythie de Marcello (dont nous respectons le pseudonyme). Comme toutes les œuvres qui sont marquées au sceau de génie, ce bronze a des admirateurs très fervents, comme il a des détracteurs. Certes, il y a dans cette œuvre une fougue, une vigueur, une témérité de composition très rare. On sent que l'auteur a le feu sacré; en modelant sa Pythie, il a dû s'assimiler la puissance surnaturelle du modèle. La prêtresse d'Apollon est sur son trépied, inspirée par ce dieu, prononçant ses sombres réponses. On a prétendu que la statuaire exige le calme et la gravité. C'est trop généraliser et c'est lui ôter la moitié de ses facultés. Pour avoir enfreint cette loi, l'auteur de Laocöon n'a pas moins laissé une œuvre impérissable. On ne peut donner la même pose et la même expression à une Minerve et à Pythie. N'oublions pas le précepte d'Horace: *Sit Medea ferox*, etc. A côté du bronze de Marcello on admire son chef abyssin, buste en marbre et bronze; d'un grand caractère et d'un grand style.” The Latin phrase *sit Medea ferox* (let Medea be fierce) is from Horace (Q. Horatius Flaccus), *Ars Poetica*, 65–8 B.C. See Horace, *Satires, Epistles and Ars Poetica*, trans. by H. Rushton Fairclough. Loeb Classical Library Series (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978), 490.

Not all of the reviews were positive, however. There was a published caricature in 1870 depicting the *Pythia* perched haphazardly upon a chest of drawers (fig. 3-50) by the popular French caricaturist Cham (Amédée-Charles Henri de Noé, 1818-1879); having one's work chosen as a subject for Cham's popular caricatures was seen as a strange form of flattery (sometimes) and free publicity (always). Other critiques could be quite harsh. René Ménard, in his review of the Salon of 1870 in the *Gazette des beaux-arts*, considered the work inappropriate from the hands of a woman:

*The great woman who signs her works with the name Marcello has made, this year, an attempt more audacious than successful. Her Pythia resembles more closely a witch from the Middle Ages than the priestess inspired by Apollo... Of course, we are far from opposing the talent and effort put into this bronze, but we believe that sculpture is not made for melodrama, and it is almost a sacrilege to dare to give a Greek name to a nightmare from the year 1000.... This is a terrible topic for a sculptor, this seriously mad and pompous Pythia in delirium who proclaims the judgments of Fate. ... The Pythia of Delphi, seated on her sacred tripod, and exalted by the god who speaks through her, is prey to a grand and lyrical drunkenness; all of her body is animated, and in an inspired accent, she tells the future. The tragic austerity of her movements are neither restrained nor difficult, and her rhythmic fury proclaims the resounding and solemn laws.*¹²⁸

Ménard was concerned mainly with the indecorous contortions of the body of *Pythia*, and he objected to a seemingly intoxicated female figure, feeling that passionate and reckless adventures would lead one (i.e., a woman) to failure. The raw sexuality of the figure noted earlier is also palpable, and Ménard certainly disapproved of its coming from the hand of a woman. On a similar note, the critic Goujon claimed that Marcello's marble version of the *Abyssinian Chieftain* (fig. 3-51), which was exhibited next to the *Pythia* at the same Salon (fig. 3-52), had a "savage arrogance" which could "not possibly have been conceived by a woman."¹²⁹ Drawings made during her trips to Spain and Tangiers in the late 1860s, show that Marcello diligently worked out ideas for the pose for the *Abyssinian Chieftain* (fig. 3-53) and do not suggest savagery or conceit. Works of art exhibiting arrogance, passion, and power were not only unsuitable for women to look at, but even more improper for them to produce. Such works were in violation of the classical tradition for all sculptors and it was doubly outrageous for women to make such images.

128. René Ménard, "Salon de 1870," *Gazette des beaux-arts* (July 1870): 64. "La grande dame qui signe ses ouvrages du nom de Marcello a fait, cette année, une tentative plus audacieuse que réussie. Sa Pythie ressemble bien plus à une sorcière du moyen âge qu'à la prêtresse inspirée d'Apollon [...] Certes, nous sommes loin de contester le talent et l'effort dépensés sur ce bronze; mais nous croyons que la sculpture n'est pas faite pour le mélodrame, et il y a presque un sacrilège à affubler d'un nom grec un cauchemar de l'an mil [...] C'est un sujet terrible pour un sculpteur que cette folie solennelle d'une Pythie en délire qui proclame les arrêts du Destin [...] La Pythie de Delphes, assise sur son trépied sacré, et exaltée par le dieu qui parle en elle, est en proie à une ivresse grandiose et lyrique; tout son corps s'anime, et, d'un accent inspiré, elle prédit l'avenir. L'austérité tragique de son mouvement n'a rien de contourné ni de pénible, et sa fureur rythmée proclame des arrêts retentissants et solennels."

129. J. Goujon, *Salon de 1870*, (Paris: Goujon, 1870), 160.

That Marcello was passed over for a medal at the Salon was not ignored by her supporters. Fillonneau, in his apparent anger over this, went on in his review to publicly accuse the Awards Jury of favoritism:

*And what about the jury? What did they do in front of these two outstanding sculptures [by Marcello], eloquent proof of an enormous work, the unexpected and un hoped for results of superb efforts? The jury did nothing. ... Alas! This is not the first time that a jury steps back from the obvious and shuns truth. We believe we know and we would like to believe that among these artists all did not solely vote for their students and friends, but the majority shall regret later depriving her of it [the medal]: As for Marcello, she can console herself. The true audience acclaims her everyday, and one of the greatest artists of these times has said: 'I would have rather made the Pythia and the bust of the Abyssinian Chieftain than have won any medal!'*¹³⁰

Other critics, such as Albert Wolff of *Le Figaro*, were equally angry that Marcello had been passed over by the Jury. Everyone knew that the Awards Jury was suspected of giving medals only to their favorite students. Wolff's admiration for Marcello's Abyssinian Chieftain is impressive, and the text, found under the title "The Forgotten and the Despised," is worth quoting at length on this point:

No, one does not want to believe it! Marcello, sculptor of talent, Marcello, sculptor of the beautiful marble and bronze bust, one of the prettiest things in the Salon, and of the Pythia, a bronze statue that, despite its faults, is a work full of energy and of life, Marcello did not receive the least of medals, no more this year than the previous years. So, then it is true, admirable jury, what I have been told, which is that you do not bestow any awards to busts unless the sculptor has carved the marble or molded the clay to reproduce some official face!

Yes, it must be true, because otherwise one could not explain how the men of the jury could pass by the Abyssinian Chieftain without bestowing a medal to this fine and elegant work so full of sentiment and nobility from a woman of the higher classes who is among the most remarkable artists. And if it is true, excellent jury, impeccable jury, infallible jury, that you prefer the first naked type, what we call in the profession's slang a studio figure, that is to say studies after nature, with no breath, no originality, to this one of the Abyssinian Chieftain by Marcello, then o jury of my soul! Strict jury, aca-

130. Fillonneau 1870, 2. "Et le jury? qu'a-t-il fait devant ces deux ouvrages hors ligne, témoins éloquentes d'un énorme travail, résultats inattendus et inespérés d'efforts superbes? Le jury n'a rien fait... Hélas! ce n'est pas la première fois qu'un jury recule devant l'évidence et se soustrait à la vérité. Nous croyons savoir et nous aimons à croire que parmi ces artistes, tous n'ont pas plaidé uniquement en faveur de leurs élèves et de leurs camarades, mais la majorité regrettera plus tard de l'avoir emporté: quant à Marcello, elle peut se consoler. Le public digne de ce nom l'acclame chaque jour, et un des plus grands artistes de ce temps-ci à dit: "J'aimerais mieux avoir fait la Pythie et le buste de chef arabe que d'avoir remporté n'importe quelle médaille!"



Fig. 3-51. Marcello. *Abyssinian Chieftain*. 1870. Marble.
Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

*demis jury, allow me to laugh as much as I want before going further because, like the publisher of my newspaper, I have to laugh to keep myself from crying about it.*¹³¹

Garnier had seen the original version of *Pythia* in Rome and had a second opportunity to view a bronze version at the Salon of 1870. The high volume of works produced by Barbedienne's foundry caused a seven-month delay in casting the sculpture, and, on the advice of Garnier, Marcello hired the founders Thiébaut et Fils to complete the life-sized sculpture in bronze for the Salon. The work was purchased by the state on Garnier's request on 3 June 1870 for the considerable sum of 12,000 French francs.¹³²

The placement of the *Pythia* was not originally planned for the Grand Foyer. Special guests, performers, and wealthy season-ticket holders would enter the building from the rear and lower level of the Opera, called the grand vestibule or the Pavillon des abonnés, which led directly to the grand foyer and then the grand escalier.¹³³ The *Pythia* was the first sculpture that these privileged season-ticket holders saw upon entering the main portion of the Opéra, and thus had been placed in a very favorable location. According to Garnier the space was intended for a different work, and originally he did not envision the *Pythia* being placed there:

*This figure was not made specifically for the Opera. The niche that receives it was intended to shelter a seated statue of Orpheus, the commission for which, for various reasons, had been postponed. It was in Rome that the Duchess Colonna modeled her Pythia, and it was in Rome that I saw it, when the sculpture was still in clay. I liked it a lot, but I did not think then that it should have a place in the theatre. It was not until two years later, while the Pythia was exhibited in Paris, after its casting in bronze, that, not seeing the Orpheus coming to fruition, I wanted to see the effect that it could produce under the staircase. This effect was satisfying to me and I asked the minister to acquire the sculpture. That is what took place, and in the place of a white marble figure, quietly representing a very calm god, I had a tormented bronze, representing a priestess of Apollo tormenting herself on her tripod! I do not regret this substitution and, it seems to me, the public is of the same opinion.*¹³⁴

Other bronze casts and marble editions of *Pythia* were produced following the overall success of the piece at the Salon and later at the Opéra. A marble of the bust-only version, created for the internationally known couturier Charles-Frederick Worth, is on view at the

131. Albert Wolff, "La Sculpture au Salon," *Le Figaro* (29 May 1870): 1. "Non, on ne voudra pas le croire! Marcello, le sculpteur de talent, Marcello, l'auteur du beau buste marbre et bronze, une des plus jolies choses du Salon, et de la Pythie, statue en bronze qui, malgré ses défauts, est une oeuvre pleine d'énergie et de vie, Marcello n'a pas obtenu la moindre médaille, pas plus cette fois que les années précédentes. Cela est-il donc vrai, jury admirable, ce qu'on m'a raconté, à savoir que tu ne décernes aucune récompense aux bustes, à moins que le sculpteur n'ait taillé le marbre ou pétri la terre pour reproduire quelque visage officiel? Oui, cela doit être, car autrement on ne s'expliquerait pas comment messieurs les jurés ont pu passer devant le Chef abyssin sans décerner une médaille à cette oeuvre fine, élégante, si pleine de sentiment et de noblesse, d'une femme du monde qui est un artiste des plus remarquables. Et s'il est vrai, excellent jury, jury impeccable, jury infaillible, que tu préfères le premier bonhomme nu ce qu'on appelle en argot du métier une figure d'atelier, c'est-à-dire les études d'après nature, sans souffle, sans originalité, à des bustes comme le Chef abyssin, de Marcello, alors, ô jury de mon âme! jury austère, jury académique, permets-moi de rire à mon aise avant d'aller plus loin; car, comme le patron de mon journal, il me faut rire pour ne pas être obligé d'en pleurer."

132. Archives Nationales de France, Paris, F/21/832.

133. Christopher Curtis Mead, *Charles Garnier's Paris Opera: Architectural Empathy and the Renaissance of French Classicism* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991), 118-19.

134. Garnier, 296-97. "Cette figure n'était pas faite pour l'Opéra. La niche qui la reçoit devait abriter une statue assise d'Orphée, dont, pour diverses raisons, la commande avait été ajournée. C'est à Rome que la duchesse Colonna modelait sa Pythie, et c'est à Rome que je la vis, alors que la statue était encore en terre. Elle me plut fort, mais je ne pensais guère alors qu'elle dût se loger dans le théâtre. Ce n'est que deux ans plus tard, alors que *La Pythie* avait été exposée à Paris, après son moulage en bronze, que, ne voyant pas Orphée venir, je voulus me rendre compte de l'effet qu'elle pourrait produire sous l'escalier. Cet effet me parut satisfaisant et je demandai au ministre de faire l'acquisition de la statue. C'est ce qui eut lieu, et à la place d'une figure en marbre blanc, représentant calmement un dieu fort calme j'eus un bronze tourmenté, représentant une prêtresse d'Apollon se tourmentant sur son trépied! Je ne regrette pas cette substitution et, ce me semble, le public est du même avis."

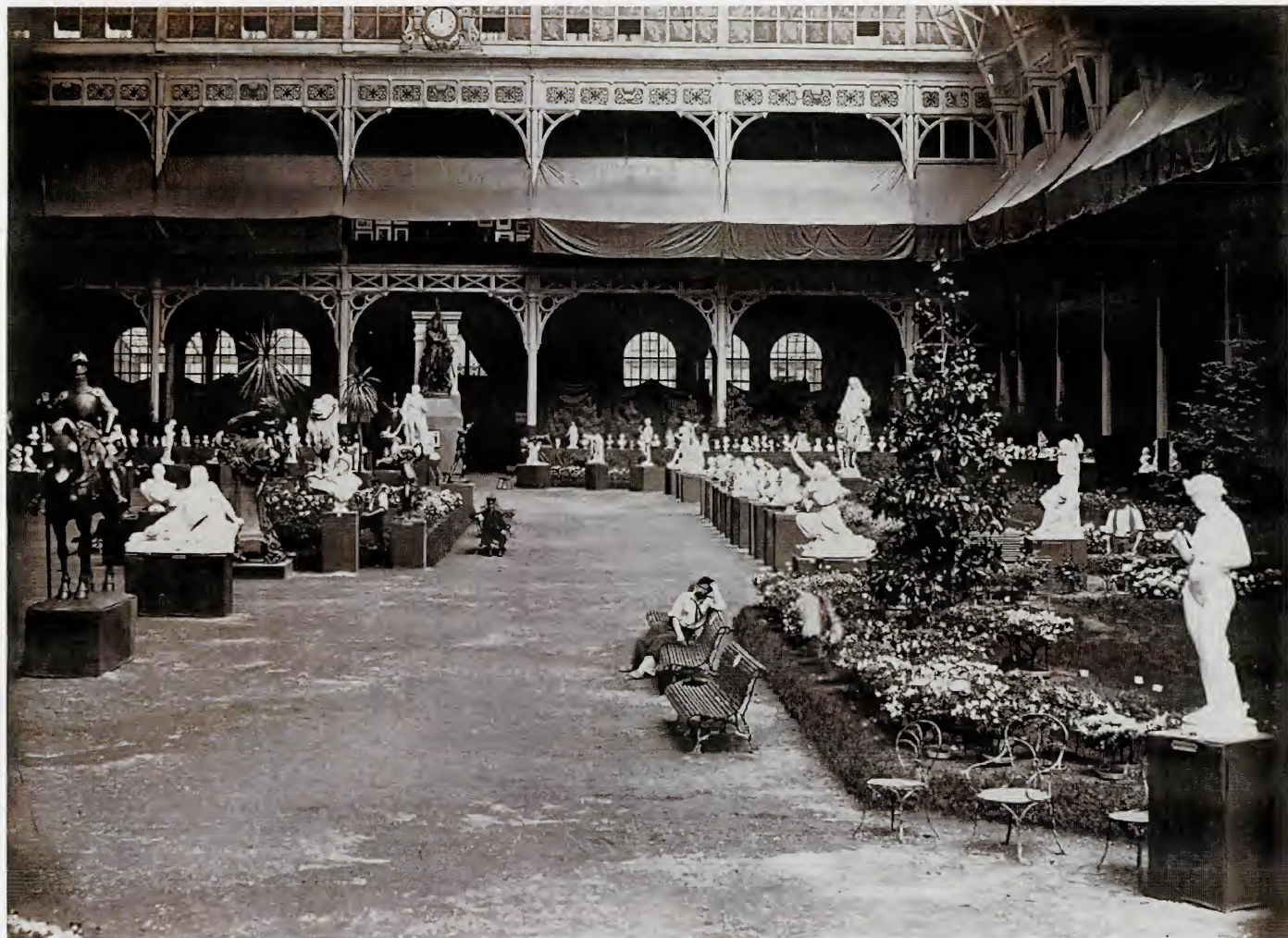


Fig. 3-52. Salon of 1870, showing Pythia and Abyssinian Chieftain as exhibited. 1870. Period Photograph.

Musée Carnavalet (fig. 3-54). The Philadelphia Museum of Art owns a bronze *Pythia* in a decorative-sized version, cast by the successors of Thiebaut's foundry, Thiébaut Frères, Fumière and Gavignot (fig. 3-55). In addition, a bronze produced in 1880 by Thiebaut Frères for the original Musée Marcello, is now housed in the Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg (fig. 3-56). Marcello's *Smiling Moorish Woman* of 1869-70, which she was working on at the same time as the *Pythia* and the *Abyssinian Chieftain*, is also striking in its likeness to Regnault's *Salomé*.¹³⁵

Marcello found renewed praise and overall success when the *Pythia* was placed in the Opéra, which opened to the public in 1875. While other works of 1870 by her friends, such as Regnault's *Salomé* and Fortuny's *Vicarage*, were already out of public view, Marcello's *Pythia* continued to bring her fame. On 2 January 1875, a writer in *L'Illustration* spoke of the installation of the alluring but "strange" sculpture at the Opéra:

*In the middle of the pool decorated with aquatic plants, the bronze pythoness by Marcello was placed. It is known that under the pseudonym hides Madame Princess [sic] Colonna, who, these past few days, came to preside personally over the definitive placement of this statue whose strange character and inspiring allure have been generally remarked upon.*¹³⁶

Fifteen years after his first caricature of the *Pythia* (perched upon a chest of drawers, see fig. 3-50), Cham's followup image, published in *Le Charivari* in the summer of 1878, poked fun not at the sculpture but instead at the bourgeoisie (fig. 3-57).¹³⁷ The oracle of Apollo is shown recoiling in disgust as four tired *parisiens* soak their tired (and probably dirty) feet in her sacred pool. *Parisiens* would have gotten the joke, which was that people were shown taking a footbath in the sacrosanct pond of the *Pythia*, who represented high culture, classical mythology and the greatness of the ancient past. Once again, Marcello's *Pythia* was singled out for attention, but this time it was not a criticism of the sculpture itself but rather of *Parisiens* themselves and more specifically the *bourgeoisie*.

Marcello's sculpture, which she herself called bizarre, did not suffer the criticism that befell Carpeaux's *La Danse*, placed on the building's façade. The depiction of nude, dancing figures on the outside of a public, state-sponsored building proved to be too risqué for Second-Empire tastes; in August of 1869, *La Danse* became the target of a self-



Fig. 3-53. Marcello. Drawing for the Abyssinian Chieftain. Circa 1868-70. Ink on paper. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.

135. The sculpture thought to be Marcello's *Smiling Moorish Woman* is in the collection of Mme Lucile Audouy. Unfortunately I was unable to view the work in person when I visited Mme Audouy in 2004, because the work was being stored at a location other than the one I visited. I know the work only through photographs. This bust may be that to which Marcello referred in her letter to her mother dated 27 July 1869 (see note 113 above), but the letter is vague and thus it is difficult to know which work she was writing about with certainty.

136. Anonymous author, "Le Nouvel Opéra," *L'Illustration* (2 January 1875): 7. "Au milieu de ce bassin garni de fleurs et de plantes aquatiques, est placée la pythonisse en bronze de Marcello. On sait que sous ce pseudonyme se cache Mme la princess [sic] Colonna, qui, ces jours derniers, est venue présider elle-même au placement définitif de cette statue dont le caractère étrange et l'allure inspirées ont été généralement remarqués."

137. The image was published under the title "Actualités," in *Le Charivari* (13 August 1878): 177, with the caption "Les visiteurs profitent du vestibule de l'Opéra pour s'y donner un peu de fraîcheur." [The visitors benefit from the vestibule of the Opera where they give themselves a little refreshment.]



Fig. 3-55.
Marcello. *Pythia*. 1870. (This cast, after 1880.) Bronze.
Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Photograph
by the author.



Fig. 3-54.
Marcello. *Pythia*. 1870. Marble. Musée Carnavalet,
Paris.
Photograph copyright Photothèque des Musées de la
Ville de Paris.



Fig. 3-56.

Marcello. *Pythia*. 1870 (This cast, after 1879.) Bronze.
Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg.
Given to the Canton of Fribourg as part of the Musée
Marcello bequest, 1881 [M 15].
Photograph by Primula Bosshard.



Fig. 3-57.
Cham. Current news, Visitors profit from the vestibule
of the Opera where they receive a little refreshment.
From *Le Charivari* (13 August 1878), 177.

appointed, literally ink-wielding critic. By the time of the Opéra's public opening, Third Republic tastes were even more subdued, and less tolerant of unreserved sexuality. Tucked under the grand escalier, Marcello's semi-nude, sexually charged *Pythia* escaped similar public outbursts against it.

Marcello's *Pythia*, certainly her masterpiece, was also one of her last major sculptures. She had spent two decades producing unconventional art that, although sometimes causing her to be shunned by the Salon jury and some art critics, won her remarkable success. As an early Symbolist work, the *Pythia* promoted, in Fillonneau's words, a new formula of high art. *Pythia*, Marcello's favorite daughter, can be admired today exactly where it was installed in 1875, at the Opera Garnier in Paris.

At the *Exposition universelle* of 1867, while Gustave Courbet and Edouard Manet staged mini-retrospectives in their private pavilions outside the official arena, Marcello showcased her own retrospective inside the official exhibition. As seen from period photographs taken of her display (figs. 3-58 through 3-60), Marcello exhibited eight of her most recent and/or significant works in the pavilion reserved for "les États pontificaux," or the Papal States. Undoubtedly, she called in some of her chips as an Italian Duchess to be granted such a large space and the ability to have such a large number of works accepted for exhibition, particularly since there was limited space allotted for the Fine Arts at the exposition that year.

In a strategic move, Marcello only exhibited sculptures of female figures that she had produced from 1863 through 1867 at the *Exposition universelle*. The exhibition was designed as a retrospective event, encompassing work produced since the *Exposition universelle* of 1855, so Marcello's submissions of works that had been, in most cases, previously exhibited, was logical.¹³⁸ These works included, starting with the largest piece, *Hecate and Cerberus* (in the livret titled simply *Hécate*), followed by *Marguerite de Goethe*, *La Femme transtévérine* (a marble that is now lost), *La Gorgone* (in the livret entitled *Méduse*), *Bianca Capello*, *Ananké*, *Marie-Antoinette à Versailles* and *Marie-Antoinette au Temple* (in the livret entitled *Marie-Antoinette prisonnière à la Conciergerie*). This display and choice of works attests to her commitment to representations of the female figure and to her depiction of them as heroic, stoic, and valiant. Four of these works were those she called "héroïque" in the letter to her mother quoted at the beginning of this chapter. The other four must have been sculptures that she felt equaled the rest in the depiction of women

138. For specifics regarding planning and regulations for the *Exposition Universelle* of 1867, see Patricia Mainardi, *Art and Politics of the Second Empire: The Universal Expositions of 1855 and 1867* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1987), 131.



Fig. 3-58. Stereoscopic Views of the Papal States Section of the Exposition universelle, Paris, 1867. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg. [Visible from left, the Gorgon, Marie-Antoinette at Temple Prison, Hecate and Cerberus, La Transtévérine (now lost), and Marie-Antoinette at Versailles.]

in the heroic genre and in the quality in which they were produced. All eight were precedents leading up to her masterwork of 1870, the *Pythia*, which best embodies her treatment of issues that would later be called Symbolist.

Marcello's display of works at the *Exposition universelle* was well received by critics. The critic known as "le Flâneur" praised the retrospective in *Revue de Paris*:

This excursion through the statues brings me to speak, before I conclude, to those which are exhibited on the Champ de Mars, in the Roman section, by the great artist known as Marcello. The Duchess Colonna has reunited eight of her most beautiful creations, and as all the art lovers bring themselves there with a sympathetic eagerness, I believe I should make my praises join with those of the crowd.

*First: Bianca Capello, this admirable bust which belongs to M. Achille Fould; then: Ananké, a symbolic bust of Destiny who seems to meditate on the past as well as on the future; then again: Marguerite of Goethe who recalls, one has said, the physiognomic character of Madame Carvalho, who has modeled for it without her knowledge, posed in the spirit of the artist, as modeled after the young lover of Faust; finally, the Gorgone who decorates, if I am not mistaken, one of the rooms of the Duke of Mouch[y] [...] and this incomparable group: Hécate who seizes the eyes before seizing the thoughts having admired a little all the details.*¹³⁹

Her impressive series of female busts was recalled by art critics years later, as did Thémis when discussing her *Tired Bacchante* in his review of the Salon of 1869.

Having collected throughout this chapter evidence for Marcello's role in the history of early Symbolism, I have left one to wonder: did anyone recognize her contributions during the period? At least one author, known only as "G.E.," seemed to do so in a critique of the Swiss National Exposition, held in Zürich in 1883, where three sculptures and four watercolors by Marcello were posthumously shown. This author underscored how Marcello's sculptures from two decades before seemed to foretell art's future. Although "G.E." seemed not to have particularly liked the direction art was taking, the author nonetheless acknowledged the *avant-garde* in Marcello's works:

From the classicism of the Renaissance, the sculptor has passed into the picturesque. And furthermore, one sees again a gracious figure of Hébé,¹⁴⁰ a sculpture completely

139. Le Flâneur, "Le Salon," *Revue de Paris* ([1 May] 1867): 117-18. "Cette excursion à travers les statues, m'amène à parler, avant de finir, de celles qu'expose au Champ de Mars, dans la section romaine, cette grande artiste qu'on nomme communément Marcello. La duchesse Colonna a réuni ses huit plus belles créations, et comme tous les amateurs se portent là avec un empressement sympathique, je crois bien faire en joignant mes éloges à ceux de la foule. C'est d'abord: *Bianca Capello*, ce buste admirable qui appartient à M. Achille Fould; puis: *l'Ananké*, buste symbolique de la Destinée qui semble méditer sur le passé comme sur l'avenir; puis encore: la *Marguerite de Goethe* qui rappelle, a-t-on dit, le caractère de physiognomie de Mme Carvalho, laquelle a [i]rait à son insu, posé dans l'esprit de l'artiste, comme modèle de la jeune fille aimée de Faust; enfin la *Gorgone* qui orne, si je ne me trompe, l'un des salons du duc de Mouch [*sic*, Mouchy] [...] et ce groupe incomparable: d'*Hécate* qui saisit les yeux avant que la pensée ait pu en admirer tous les détails. Ce groupe, plus grand que nature, est l'œuvre d'une femme. Il indique une étape nouvelle dans la carrière artistique de Marcello. Le voici qui aborde la statuaire dans son expression suprême. Nous n'avons rien vu en fait de statues, à l'Exposition des Champs-Élysées, qui puisse même approcher de ce grand bloc taillé de main de maître."

140. To my knowledge, Marcello did not produce a sculpture entitled *Hébé*. It is possible that instead the work exhibited was the *Gorgone*, and the author confused the name of one mythological figure with the other. Since the author also believed, incorrectly, that the *Bianca Capello* was Marcello's very first sculpture, such an error is conceivable. In ancient mythology, Hébé was the daughter of Hera and Zeus, and the cup-bearer to the Gods. She appears in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.



Fig. 3-59. Stereoscopic Views of the Papal States Section of the Exposition universelle, Paris, 1867. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg. [Visible from left, Marie-Antoinette at Versailles, Hecate and Cerberus, Marguerite from Goethe's *Faust* and Ananké (partially covered by Marguerite).]

modern, a Salon sculpture if you will, and of which one will say that it senses our epoch of decadence. We do not want to speak ill of the art of decadence. It has produced some of the great geniuses and it often has more eloquence and inspiration, it is more attractive, in any case than classicism, which is worthy perhaps, but without character and momentum. We cannot fully discuss this question on which we can return, we simply remark on how much these three busts by Marcello are varied in their conception and execution. They bear witness to the vast talent of this artist who knew how to tackle all the genres and was successful in all of them.¹⁴¹

Even though Marcello had already been dead four years when these works were exhibited in Zürich, they were still included in "Groupe 37," which contained contemporary art. However briefly, critics and curators had recognized Marcello's role in modern art soon after her death.

In this chapter I have tried to show how Marcello accomplished two objectives through her most important works. First, the artist was, without doubt, most interested in producing and promoting her figures of powerful women, often with heroic qualities, grandeur, and strong characteristics. Secondly, through the depiction of such women, Marcello was, without doubt, a forerunner to the Symbolist movement in Europe. She was interested in many of the same themes that later became associated with the Symbolism. This is seen in her treatment of legends (in her *Bianca Capello* and her two busts of *Marie-Antoinette*), mythology (in her *Ananké*, *Gorgone*, *Hecate* and *Pythia*), religion (*La Petite Madone*), sexuality (in all of the female figures, but in particular the *Tired Bacchante*), androgyny (*Tired Bacchante*), decadence (*Bianca Capello* and *Gorgone*), and mysticism (*Hecate* and *Cerberus* and *Pythia*).

With Marcello firmly positioned in the history of Symbolism, in fact at its origins in Paris in the early 1860s, it seems now that the history of this movement will need to be rethought by art historians and scholars. Her focus on women as strong figures, for good or for evil, cannot be ignored within Symbolism's history, and her images of the "new hero," in female form, began the movement in a feminist vein. Unfortunately her work was not fully recognized for this contribution by critics and artists of the later nineteenth century and what followed was a literary and artistic movement which was often misogynist and from which women were excluded. What makes Marcello's sculpture noteworthy is that she explored the female as a heroic and courageous figure, a feat not commonly

141. G.E., "Le Groupe 37, Art contemporain (II)," *Journal officiel illustré de l'Exposition Suisse 24* (19 July 1883), 229. "Du classique de la Renaissance, le sculpteur a passé au pittoresque. Et, plus loin, on voit encore une gracieuse figure d'Hébé, sculpture toute moderne, sculpture de Salon si l'on veut et dont peut-être on dira qu'elle sent notre époque de décadence. Mais nous sommes de ceux qui ne veulent pas qu'on médise de l'art de décadence. Il a produit de grands génies et il a souvent bien plus de verve et d'inspiration, plus d'attrait, en tous cas qu'un classique, estimable peut-être, mais sans caractère et sans élan. Nous ne discuterons pas longuement cette question sur laquelle nous pourrions revenir nous ferons simplement remarquer combien ces trois bustes de Marcello sont variés dans leur conception et leur exécution. Ils témoignent du talent étendu de l'artiste qui savait aborder tous les genres et réussissait dans tous."



Fig. 3-60.
Stereoscopic Views of the Papal States Section of the Exposition universelle, Paris, 1867. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg. [Visible from left, Bianca Capello, the Gorgon, Marie-Antoinette at Temple Prison, and Hecate and Cerberus.]

achieved in painting or sculpture during her own period, or later in the century. Continuing with this approach, we shall see how Marcello maintained her exploration into Symbolist themes through her interest in music in the following chapter.



Fig. 4-1a. Music Room, Cornelia M. Stewart House. Circa 1886. Photograph published in *The Opulent Interiors of the Gilded Age* (New York: Dover, 1987 [1883]), 36. Marcello's Medjé and Abyssinian Chieftain flank the doorway on the left.

CHAPTER FOUR

SCULPTURE AND THE SOUNDS OF SILENCE: MARCELLO AND MUSIC

"The production of a work of art is to thought as vibration is to a song."

Marcello¹

From both a scientific and historical point of view, the relationship between music and painting is better understood than its connections to sculpture. This chapter provides a brief study of the associations between music and sculpture in Marcello's *œuvre*; as it will be seen, she was quite preoccupied with musical influences upon her work. Though long ignored, the relationship between some of her major works and the music (and musicians) of her time was very strong, and references to the music world of her period abound in her sculpture. The interdisciplinary nature of the fine arts during the nineteenth century illustrates well Marcello's sculpture.

Marcello's friendships with major performers and composers such as Charles François Gounod (1818-1893), Franz Liszt (1811-1886), Gioachino Rossini (1792-1868), and mezzo-soprano Pauline Viardot (1821-1910) fostered her interest in characters from contemporary opera. Marcello sculpted portraits of Gounod, Liszt, and Viardot, characters from Gounod's tragedy *Faust* and Rossini's comedy *Il Barbiere de Siviglia* (*The Barber of Seville*), and characters from operas by such earlier composers such as Jean-Baptiste Lully (1632-1687). Additionally, her pseudonym was derived from the name of an eighteenth-century Venetian composer, Benedetto Marcello (1686-1739). In her memoirs, she noted that she took the pseudonym as a "nom d'art et de guerre par amour pour la musique (literally, an art and war name taken for the love of music)."² She also culled resources through intellectual exchanges with musical personalities, particularly with Gounod. Although they speak to an intellectual audience about specific historical and fictional figures, her sculptures, much like the Romantic music of the period, achieve a high level of fluidity through the mood they evoke and through the sensory and deeply emotional experience they provide.

Evidence for the influence of contemporary music onto Marcello's sculpture abounds in her *œuvre*. Although it did not manifest itself until later in her career, Marcello's admiration for Gounod's music in particular is substantiated by some of her sculptures whose



Fig. 4-2.

Sheet music cover, *Medjé, Chanson Arabe*. Poem by Jules Barbier, music by Charles Gounod. Engraving by A. Lamy, printed by Arouy, Paris. Published by Choudens, Paris. Collection of the author.

1. Adèle Colonna (Marcello), personal diary (known as the *Carnet Intimes*), c. 1863, Archives Fondation Marcello, Fribourg, Switzerland (hereafter Archives FM). "La production d'une œuvre d'art est à la pensée ce qu'est la vibration au chant."

2. Adèle Colonna (Marcello), personal memoirs, unfinished and unpublished, (known as *Mémoires d'Adèle d'Affry*), c. late 1870s, Archives FM, "Paris, 31" [original manuscript], 66 [typewritten copy]. In existence at the Archives FM are the original memoirs written in Marcello's own hand, and a typewritten copy, produced in the late 1970s in preparation for the 1980 exhibition at the Musée d'art et d'histoire in Fribourg.



Fig. 4-1b.
 Marcello. *Abyssinian Chieftain*. 1870. Polychromed bronze.
 Dahesh Museum of Art, New York.
 Photograph by the author.

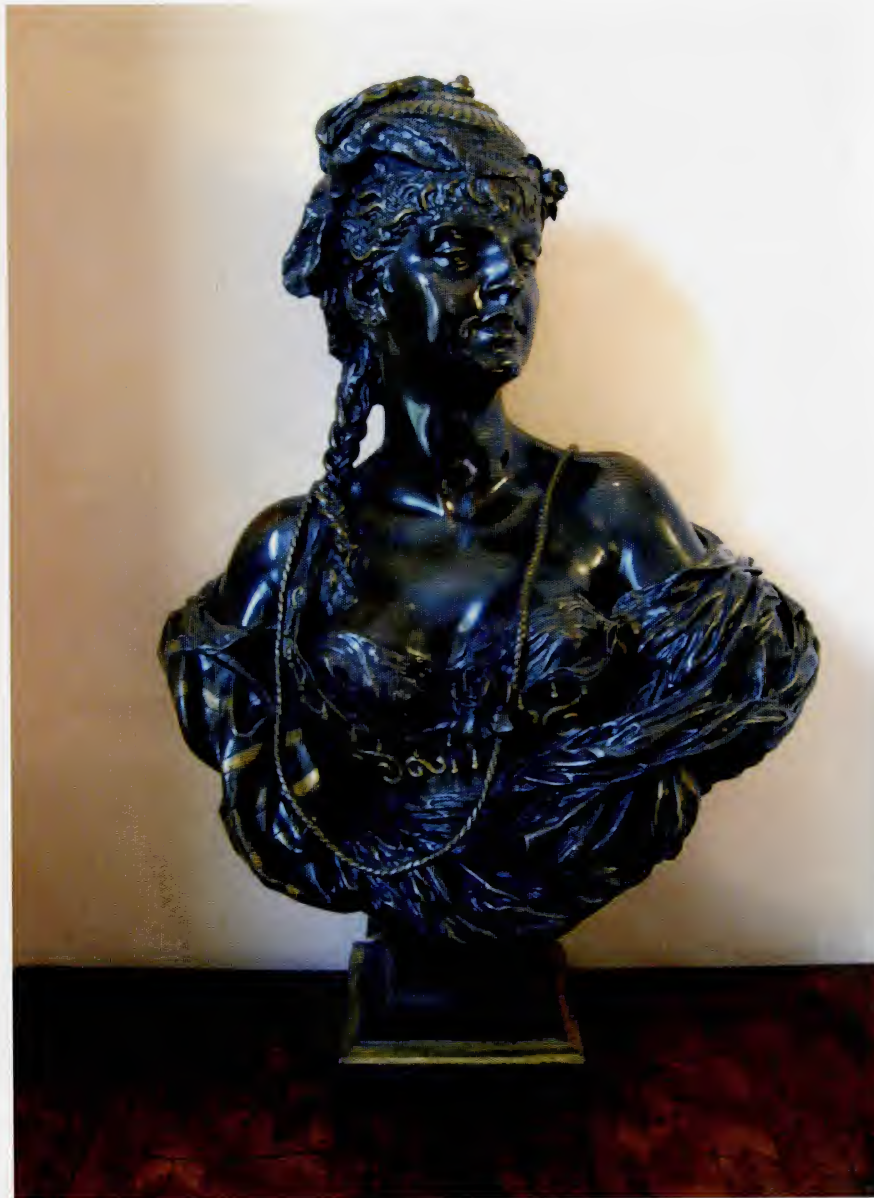


Fig. 4-1c.
 Marcello. *Medjé*. 1877. Bronze.
 Private Collection, London, England.
 Photo: Osmund Bullock.

subjects relate directly to his work. She often discussed in her considerable amount of letters and diary pages the sources for her works, which will be seen herein. Though she did not mention the source material that directly inspired her to create the busts that she entitled *Abyssinian Chieftain* (1870) and *Medjé* (1877, although possibly conceived earlier), she seemed to have been motivated to produce them in homage to Gounod's *Medjé: Chanson Arabe* of 1865 (fig. 4-2). While Marcello never exhibited them as such, collectors saw the two works as companion pieces, and eventually a pair of casts were acquired and displayed in the Music Room of the Fifth Avenue mansion of Cornelia and A.T. Stewart, the latter a wealthy merchant and department store owner in New York at the end of the century (figs. 4-1a to 1c).

No fewer than thirteen of Marcello's major sculptures were based on characters from operas or were portraits of composers or musicians.³ Through her letters, memoirs and correspondence, we know of seven lost works: a portrait of Pauline Viardot (1862); a series of four sculptures based on the Swiss legend (and the Rossini opera), of William Tell (c.1863); a male figure playing an instrument, known only through Marcello's correspondence; and a portrait of Gounod (1869). Extant works with musical themes which will be discussed herein, most based on characters from operas of the day, include *Paolo et Francesca* (1862-9), *Bianca Capello* (see chapter three), *La Gorgone* (see chapter three, 1865), *La Marguerite de Goethe* (1867), and *La Rosina* (1869).⁴ She also produced a portrait of Franz Liszt (1869). Marcello's existing works based on characters from popular opera will be treated, along with a historical discussion of the music and/or musicians that inspired them. Finally, an analysis of her portraits of musicians, both extant and lost, will be presented and will include information on her relationships with these figures. Much of the material cited in this chapter derives from Marcello's personal diaries, letters, memoirs, and notes, most of which have never been previously published or subjected to scholarly analysis.

MARCELLO'S PERSONAL THOUGHTS ON MUSIC AND MUSICIANS

Marcello was a melomane of the highest order. Her relationship with music began when she was a small child. Her father was an amateur musician and music was a major part of their home, as it was for most aristocratic households. Music became a more significant force in her work after her arrival in Paris in 1859.⁵ Paris was without doubt the opera capital of the world, and Marcello often attended performances once she was established in the city.

3. I have not included in this number Marcello's *Portrait of Mlle de Grétry*, whom I suspect was related to the composer André-Ernest-Modeste Grétry (1741-1813), unless it is a misspelling of the surname "Gratry," and thus the figure would have been a relation of Père Gratry, Marcello's confidante and confessor. Little is known of this sculpture and its sitter, and further investigation is required. On the correspondence between Marcello and Père Gratry, see Christiane Dotal, *Marcello, Sculpteur, une intellectuelle dans l'ombre, la correspondance entre la duchesse Castiglione Colonna, dite Marcello, et le Père Gratry, oratorien (1859-1869)*, (Éditions Château de Penthes/Fondation Custodia, 2008).

4. The operas that may have inspired these works, respectively, were Gounod's planned but uncompleted opera, *Paolo et Francesca*; Alberto Randegger's *Bianca Capello* (1854-56); Lully's *Persée* (1682); Gounod's *Faust* (1859); and Rossini's *Il Barbiere di Siviglia* (1816).

5. Although musical training was a large part of a young aristocratic girl's education during the period, I have not been able to find proof that Marcello herself played an instrument. Evidence of this might be enlightening in relation to her later visual work.

Much can be said of Marcello's many pages of notes regarding music and musicians. These notes were not meant for public consumption, but were rather a record of her personal reflection upon the arts and the role of sculptors among other artists and intellectuals. Like many of her contemporaries, she placed music high above the other art forms, including her own, for its inspirational qualities. Yet she also noted that music was not alone as an intellectual art form. "It always seemed to me," she wrote in her notes, "...that music was the common hearth of inspiration, while at the same time the most perfect language for the soul; I do not say for the mind."⁶

Like James McNeill Whistler (1834-1903), Marcello recognized that music is a pure art form, deriving not from an external referent but from within the creator's self. In this sense Marcello preceded Wassily Kandinsky (1866-1944) as well, for she had developed this same idea in her notes over forty years before the publication of his *Concerning the Spiritual in Art* (1912). She also thought and wrote about the relationship between artists of various kinds, and felt that musicians were uniquely free from the psychological and material obstacles that often plagued visual artists and other creative masters. In her notes from about 1864-70, she put forth her theories:

It seems to me that the musician is the happiest of artists. Free from the material component, his ideas are born without this torment of the soul from which thinkers such as Dante, Pascal, Rousseau, and many others suffer; for them the power of creation also caused an increase in suffering. The painter and the sculptor perceive the inferiority of their language in the presence of the radiant harmony that fills the soul of the musician. Therefore they go to this source to draw their completely ideal inspiration that they then translate according to the more difficult conditions of their art.⁷

6. Adèle Colonna (Marcello), personal notes and drafts written in her handwriting (known as the *Brouillon*), c.1864-70, page number marked as 92, Archives FM. "Il m'a toujours semblé par exemple que la musique était le foyer commun d'inspiration en même temps que le langage le plus parfait pour l'âme; je ne dis pas pour l'esprit."

7. Adèle Colonna (Marcello), personal notes written in her handwriting on blue paper (known as the *Feuillets d'un carnet bleu clair*), c.1864-70, sheets 5-6, Archives FM. "Il me semble que le musicien est le plus heureux des artistes. Dégagé de l'élément matériel, ses idées voient le jour sans ce tourment de l'âme dont souffrent les penseurs tels que Dante, Pascal, Rousseau, bien d'autres pour qui la puissance de créer fut aussi l'accroissement de la faculté de souffrir. Le peintre, le sculpteur sentent l'infériorité de leur langage en présence de la radieuse harmonie qui emplit l'âme du musicien. Aussi est-ce à cette source qu'ils vont puiser ces inspirations toutes idéales qu'ils traduisent ensuite selon les conditions plus dures de leur art."

As shown by this passage, Marcello felt that music motivated all artists, and that it was an art form to which they could all turn for inspiration and stimulation. Here, the word "stimulation" is deliberately used, as music can be stimulating psychologically, spiritually, and sexually; Marcello, as it will be seen, considered this to be so.

In an attempt to elucidate her ideas on the inadequacy of visual language and her treatment of music as her muse, Marcello drafted a letter to her mother sometime in 1864 containing passages similar to the above entry from her personal notes. Marcello

may have been trying out her ideas about art and music on her mother, whose opinion she respected and whose approval she constantly sought. In what seems a somewhat more clearly developed (yet still nascent) passage on the aforementioned themes, Marcello wrote to her mother with zeal:

The painter and the sculptor perceive the inferiority of their means of expression compared to the radiant harmony of the work of Mozart, for example. It is from this source that it is necessary to draw a whole order of feelings, both tender and elevated, whose translation has more than one difficulty because of the more material conditions of sculpture, for example, the primitive beauty secondary to the form. One understands that the fable of the Centaur was a subject so in conformity with the genius of Greek sculpture, it symbolizes this alliance of the ideal with a kind of development of a force of a higher order but powerful physical being Our painters are enchanted to have a beautiful, already-made ideal that they can convey [through their art].⁸

Marcello also asserted that in addition to being inspirational, music provided an example of how the concept of a work of art should be approached. According to her, the sculptor would do well to emulate the musician:

The sculptor must seize the harmony of the shapes, the lines, the reliefs, as the musician must seize that of the flats, the sharps, the major and minor tones. It seems when one is well on track that an invisible hand unrolls for you all of this harmonic sequence; it is the finesse and the accuracy of perception like a logic of the eye, in agreement with that of reasoning.⁹

With these ideas and theories in mind, Marcello began work on some of her major sculptures of the 1860s, most of which were inspired by music, her hearth of inspiration. Later, in her memoirs, she would solidify her ideas about the relationship between architecture and music with sculpture, noting that both contribute important elements to the logic of a sculptural work:

It is necessary here that I acknowledge, should my words remain inexplicable to many people (but perhaps one will understand me) that I have in mind that there exists singular relationships between two art forms from the point of view of propor-

8. Adèle Colonna (Marcello), personal notes and drafts written in her handwriting (known as the *Brouillon*), c.1864-70, page number marked as 92, Archives FM. "Le peintre, le sculpteur sentent l'infériorité de leurs moyens d'expression en face de la radieuse harmonie qui découle de l'œuvre de Mozart par exemple. C'est à cette source qu'il faut puiser tout un ordre de sentiments tendres et élevés à la fois, dont la traduction éprouve plus d'une difficulté selon les conditions plus matérielles de la sculpture par exemple, la beauté primitive secondaire de la forme. On comprend que la fable du centaure ait été un sujet si conforme au génie de la sculpture grecque, il symbolise cette alliance de l'idéal avec une sorte de développement d'une force d'un ordre supérieur mais puissant de l'être physique... Nos peintres sont enchantés d'avoir un beau [bel, sic] idéal tout fait en poche, qu'ils peuvent communiquer."

9. Adèle Colonna (Marcello), personal diary (known as the *Carnet Intimes*), 1 November 1862, Archives FM. "Le sculpteur doit saisir l'harmonie des formes, des lignes, des reliefs, comme le musicien celle des bémols, des dièses, des tons majeurs et mineurs. Il semble quand on est bien en train qu'une main invisible vous déroule tout cet enchaînement harmonique; c'est la finesse et la justesse de perception comme une logique de l'œil, d'accord avec celle d'un raisonnement."

tions, architecture and music with sculpture. I am too ignorant about music to speak of it. My spirit has always has experienced and felt architecture by instinct, ratios of masses and inevitable lines where the work includes only the absolute search for the beautiful. This made me feel the bonds that sculpture, also, must preserve with the lines of monuments. The piece of isolated sculpture also has its logic. But the intuition of harmony is rapid. Therefore it matters that the artist work quickly and it is for this reason that they must be educated, must not hesitate, and must possess a strong anatomical knowledge. I was thus more determined than ever to acquire it.¹⁰

One could argue that here Marcello, although claiming ignorance of musical knowledge, makes the connection between the horizontal and vertical elements found within both architecture and music. Such connections are obvious in the former; in the latter, harmony, which Marcello mentions specifically, is the vertical element in musical structure. She also may have been simply asserting that sculpture should have the same pleasantness and simultaneous structure as harmonic music.

For Marcello, music was best at moving the soul and was the greatest catalyst for evoking thoughts and reminiscences. In her memoirs, she noted that “the song of Adélaïde by Beethoven alone made all of the lost moments and tender regrets imprinted on my heart reappear.”¹¹ In her writings and letters, she often mentioned names of composers and singers who were most influential to her and those whom she preferred.¹² It was music that had the power to induce powerful feelings and memories, and when used as the source for her sculptures, resulted in the creation of more powerful works of art.

LINKING STYLES: ROMANTICISM AND SYMBOLISM IN MARCELLO'S *ŒUVRE*

It is established that in the visual arts the Romantic movement was somewhat supplanted by mid-century with the work of the Realists, most notably by that of the painter Gustave Courbet (1819-1877). Yet many visual artists, particularly sculptors who could not really participate in the Impressionist movement, because the major concerns of this movement dealt with issues in painting specifically, persisted with the Romantic, and then Symbolist, modes late into the century. According to most sources, however, the Romantic style in music continued throughout the century. Gounod and Marcello, whose education in the arts and early works were products of the Romantic generation, were interested in exploring *Sturm und Drang* (storm

10. Adèle Colonna (Marcello), personal memoirs, unfinished and unpublished, (known as *Mémoires d'Adèle d'Affry*), c. late 1870s, Archives FM, “Paris, 24-25” [original manuscript], 61-62 [typewritten copy]. “Il faut ici que j'avoue, dussent mes paroles rester lettres closes pour bien du monde (mais peut-être on me comprendra) que j'ai dans l'esprit qu'il existe des rapports singuliers entre deux arts au point de vue des proportions, l'architecture, et la musique avec la sculpture. Je suis trop ignorante en musique pour en parler. Mon esprit a toujours goûté et senti l'architecture d'instinct, les rapports de masses et des lignes *inévitables* dans les cas où l'œuvre ne comporte que la recherche absolue du beau, m'ont fait sentir les liens que la sculpture, elle aussi, doit conserver avec les lignes des monuments. Le morceau de sculpture isolé a aussi sa logique. Mais l'intuition de l'harmonie est rapide. Donc il importe que l'artiste ait le travail prompt et pour cela qu'il soit instruit, ne tâtonne pas, et possède un fort savoir anatomique. J'étais donc plus déterminée que jamais à l'acquérir.”

11. Adèle Colonna (Marcello), personal memoirs, unfinished and unpublished, (known as *Mémoires d'Adèle d'Affry*), c. late 1870s, Archives FM, 22 [original manuscript], 17 [typewritten copy]. “Le chant d'Adélaïde dans Beethoven fait seul reparaître à mon cœur ces instants disparus et les tendres regrets dont il est empreint...”

12. In a letter to Adolphe Thiers, dated “fin janvier 1863,” Marcello wrote “Que faites-vous; chaque lundi, je vois resplendir le Salon Galliéra, mais ce n'est pas la musique de Melle [sic] Patti que j'y regrette.” (Archives FM). The Duchess de Galliéra (1812-1888) was a very wealthy collector who held important social Salons in Paris. Adelina Patti (1843-1919) grew up in New York and became a famous soprano during the 1860s, and her exceptional voice was well known in Europe at that time.

and stress), the sublime, and deep emotional turmoil in their works in an attempt to establish mood. Although these themes had their roots in Romanticism, they were later renewed during the Symbolist movement at the *fin-de-siècle*. Marcello's work is rooted in a more modern development of these themes, and, as shown in the previous chapter, her work was at the forefront of Symbolism.

Gounod's operas stressed his love for drama, romance, and tragedy, and although Marcello was interested in the same, she invested much more of her time in the exploration of heroism and redemption. While Gounod worked in intervals of time and Marcello in dimensions of space, both believed that art should create an emotional reaction for the audience, whether listener or viewer, an issue important to later Symbolists. In Marcello's sculptures especially, one senses a mysterious element in the otherwise ordinary depiction of figures; this is another tenet of both Romanticism and Symbolism. Gounod and Marcello were stimulated by the same sources that had inspired their Romantic predecessors, such as the writings of Dante Alighieri, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, and Friedrich von Schiller.

Placing Marcello within a specific style or movement is not an easy task, as her style and choice of subject matter were quite individual. In fact, much of Second Empire sculpture was eclectic. Yet one can easily recognize that Marcello's art seems to have been in the vanguard of the pre-Symbolist movement. Her best-known work, the *Pythia* (see Chapter Three), shown in the Salon of 1870, has many Symbolist characteristics. These include explorations of decadence, irrational states of mind, an interest in the occult and the supernatural, and a synthesis or combination of elements from other art forms, such as classical mythology and music, to create a total artistic experience. Organic and inorganic forms, of particular interest to later English Pre-Raphaelites and Symbolists from all backgrounds, are visible in the *Pythia*, particularly evidenced by the tripod that metamorphoses into *animalier* groups at the base. Additionally, the depiction of a *femme fatale* type was certainly an important Symbolist theme, and Marcello convincingly depicts such a figure, that is, a heroic woman, in this work.

As was Marcello earlier in the century, French Symbolists, such as Gustave Moreau (1826-1898) were galvanized by the Symphonic Poems of Liszt and Richard Wagner (1813-1883). It can be easily argued that the almost devotional interest in music that is evident in Marcello's art was to become a major characteristic of Symbolism later

in the century. For later Symbolist artists, inspiration often came from the operas of Wagner. In his posthumously published text on Symbolism, Robert Goldwater similarly recognized the “symbolist stress on the direct expressive power of the ‘music’ of painting.”¹³ Yet he also acknowledged the difficulties that visual artists (as opposed to poets) experienced when attempting to achieve the fluidity of music, the least material of the arts:

*Although much was written [at the time] about the relation of poetry and music, the position of painting and sculpture in the hierarchy of the arts is rarely defined....[the poet] Mallarmé may indeed have understood painting better than music, and may have well admired Wagner less as a musical revolutionary than as ‘one who in the history of literature, thought text and sound simultaneously’, but given the symbolist desire to bypass appearance, the visual arts were at some advantage precisely because they were visual.*¹⁴

Even though the attempt to embody the ‘condition of music’ has already been discussed above, it is important to note here that visual artists working after Marcello’s death faced the same struggle to incorporate elements of musical composition in their visual production as she had earlier in the century. This again places Marcello as a precursor of the Symbolist movement because she had had the same theoretical concerns in the 1860s and 1870s as later artists who would become more fully ensconced in the movement at the *fin-de-siècle*.

EXPERIMENT IN AIX-LES-BAINS - LA GORGONE

Bianca Capello (see Chapter Three, 1863) was the first of Marcello’s sculptures inspired, at least in part, by two operas performed in Italy in the nineteenth century that she may have seen there. *Bianca Capello*’s connection to music was noted in *Revue des deux-mondes* within an article entitled “Revue musicale,” where the sculpture was listed among a group of artworks in the Salon of 1863 that took musical subjects as their theme.¹⁵ But Capello was also a historical figure, and the artist was just as interested in the biographical facts of the life of this Italian duchess as she was in their operatic translation. Marcello’s *La Gorgone* (see Chapter Three), a representation of one of the three Gorgon sisters in Ovid’s *Metamorphosis*, was a subject taken from ancient mythology, which Marcello knew quite well through her avid reading of the classics, but it was also inspired by an opera and a female singer whom she heard singing in Aix-les-Bains. Discussed in the

13. Robert Goldwater, *Symbolism* (New York: Harper and Row, 1979), 36.

14. Goldwater, 180.

15. P. Scudo, “Revue musicale,” *Revue des deux mondes* (1 August 1863): 749-56. On page 752, it is stated only that “Du reste, les œuvres de femmes étaient assez nombreuses à l’exposition de cette année, et l’on assure qu’un buste en marbre de *Bianca Capello* serait l’œuvre délicate d’une femme du monde qui porte un nom illustre dans l’histoire de l’aristocratie romaine.” [“Of the rest, the works of women were rather numerous at the exhibition this year, and we are certain that a bust in marble of *Bianca Capello* was the delicate work of a woman of high society who carries an illustrious name in the history of Roman aristocracy.”]

previous chapter within the context of Marcello's heroic sculptures, here *La Gorgone* will be analyzed as part of her musically inspired *œuvre*.

During the autumn of 1862, Marcello conceived *La Gorgone* while she was caring for an uncle who was ill. In her memoirs, she recounted how she came upon the idea of sculpting the figure. Her discussion of the evolution of the work is so clear and at times so poetic that it is best retold in her own words. She begins by describing the circumstances that led to her meeting a woman named Madame Revirard (fig. 4-3):

We were leaving Paris for Switzerland in the summer. In the fall, I was responsible for escorting a poor uncle, already very sick, to the waters of Aix-les-Bains. This place was almost deserted, poetic, enchanting. One night in church I heard a contralto voice, so full and vibrant, that it touched the bottom of the soul where so few things can reach. Another voice, younger and less moving, responded to her. I asked where these singing voices were coming from. The priest said to me, "It is your neighbor from the hotel, the wife of a judge from Dijon." I asked him to express to her my desire to hear her again. Meeting her later, she came to me and took me straight to hear once more this singing voice that had delighted me.¹⁶

Unfortunately little is known of Madame Revirard, as it seems that she did not perform at public venues. We know only what Marcello tells us about her marriage and her education in music:

Of course, her husband had hidden her lights under a bushel by never allowing her to perform in public, but she was an elevated soul, an English protestant, who sang for God and, like birds, when nature inspired her. However, she had broad musical knowledge and she was directing her daughter's education, who was also gifted in an admirable manner in singing.

But her mother was a student of Pauline Viardot and deeply felt this classic music whose nuances were unknown to me at this time. Little by little she taught me, and whether she blessed the church of Aix with the magnitude of the great Italian psalms, or the sorrows of Alceste and of Orpheus were resounding on the balcony towards evening as far as these prairies and valleys which descend on the lake, I cannot remember having been so moved by music as I was



Fig. 4-3. Gaspard-Félix Tournachon, known as Nadar. Madame R[evirard]. Circa 1865. Photograph. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.

16. Adèle Colonna (Marcello), personal memoirs, unfinished and unpublished, (known as *Mémoires d'Adèle d'Affry*), c. late 1870s, Archives FM, "Paris 14-15" [original manuscript], 54 [typewritten copy]. "Nous quittons Paris pour la Suisse l'été, je fus chargée d'escorter aux eaux d'Aix-les-Bains l'automne, un pauvre oncle déjà bien malade. Ce lieu était presque désert, poétique enchanteur. Un soir j'entendis à l'église une voix de contralto pleine et vibrante à toucher ce fond de l'âme où atteignent si peu de choses. Une autre voix plus jeune, moins émue, lui répondait. Je demandais d'où venaient ces accents. Le curé me dit, c'est votre voisine à l'hôtel, la femme d'un magistrat de Dijon. Je le chargeai de lui exprimer mon désir de l'entendre encore. La rencontrant ensuite, elle vint à moi, puis tout droit m'emmena entendre encore ces accents qui m'avaient ravie." Marcello also mentions her encounter with Revirard in letters to her mother from September 1862 (Archives FM).

It is interesting that Marcello noted Madame Revirard's being held back by her husband from a professional career. Certainly Marcello sympathized with her new friend; had her own husband lived, he may have prevented her from pursuing a professional art career. Revirard's connection with Viardot might have been particularly intriguing for Marcello as well, given that she knew Viardot and was a frequent guest at many of the singer's social salons in Paris. One also senses from this passage that music, if it had not done so already, was now having a very profound influence on the direction of Marcello's work and on her choice of subject matter.

Finally, Marcello described how she settled on *La Gorgone* as a subject. Here the dual themes Marcello often invoked through her work are evident; the merging of beauty and fury, typical of her heroic female figures, and the creation of a work using music as the root of her inspiration:

17. Adèle Colonna (Marcello), personal memoirs, unfinished and unpublished, (known as *Mémoires d'Adèle d'Affry*), c. late 1870s, Archives FM, "Paris 14-15" [original manuscript], 54 [typewritten copy]. "Certes son mari avait mis la lumière sous le boisseau en ne l'autorisant jamais à se faire entendre en public, mais c'était une âme élevée, anglaise protestante, qui chantait pour Dieu et comme les oiseaux, lorsque la nature l'inspirait. Pourtant, elle avait un savoir musical consommé, et dirigeait l'éducation de sa fille, douée aussi d'une manière admirable pour le chant. Mais la mère était élève de Pauline Viardot, et sentait profondément cette musique classique dont les accents m'étaient inconnus alors. Peu à peu elle m'initia, et soit qu'elle comblât l'Eglise d'Aix de l'ampleur des grands psaumes italiens, ou que les douleurs d'Alceste et d'Orphée retentissent du balcon jusqu'au-delà de ces prairies et de ces vallons descendant au lac vers le soir, je ne me souviens pas d'avoir été émue par la musique comme je l'étais alors [...]"

18. Adèle Colonna (Marcello), personal memoirs, unfinished and unpublished, (known as *Mémoires d'Adèle d'Affry*), c. late 1870s, Archives FM, "Paris 15" [original manuscript], 55 [typewritten copy]. "Madame R. chanta une fois l'air de la Gorgone de Lully. Je l'arrêtai, vite de la terre, je veux m'en emparer, vous verrez que je vous ferai une tête de Gorgone, où la beauté se croîsera avec le mépris et la fureur dans l'instant du défi et qui luttera avec la musique. On apporta de la terre glaise, et ce fut ainsi que je me trouvai entraînée à faire ce buste dont les reproductions ont été fréquentes. D'Aix j'allai à Genève, choisir le marbre, et confier mon modèle à un praticien italien qui s'y trouvait établi."

*One time Mme R[evirard] sung the Tune of the Gorgone [from the opera Persée] by Lully. I stopped her, "Quick, give me clay! I will make it mine. You will see that I will make for you a Gorgon head where beauty will meet with contempt and fury, in the moment of defiance and that will struggle with the music." I was brought clay and it was in this manner that I found myself thrust into making this bust, the reproductions of which have been frequent. From Aix, I went to Geneva to choose the marble and give my [clay] model to an Italian praticien who was established there.*¹⁸

Revirard's inspirational aria seems to have come from Act Three, Scene I of Jean-Baptiste Lully's opera *Persée* (1682), at which point the gorgon Medusa laments her fate:

*I bear horror and death everywhere.
Everything turns to stone when it gazes upon my hideous countenance.
The thunderbolts unleashed by Jupiter from on high
Are nothing like as fearful
As one of my glances.*

The greatest gods of heaven and earth and sea

*Rely on me for their vengeance.
If I lose the pleasure of being loved by the whole world,
At least I have the pleasure of being hated.*¹⁹

Earlier, Marcello mentioned that Revirard sang “the sorrows of Alceste,” which may have also come from an opera by Lully, entitled *Alceste, ou Le triomphe d’Alcide* (1674).²⁰ His *Bellérophon* (1679) included a Pythian Sybil, a subject that Marcello would begin to develop soon after her completion of *La Gorgone*, but it is not clear whether the opera by Lully directly inspired the later sculpture. Nonetheless, Lully seems to have been a significant composer for Marcello, whose music can be connected to some of her most important works.

La Gorgone became, as suggested by Marcello in her memoirs, a highly successful commercial work. After its exhibition at the Salon of 1865, the sculpture was often cast for collectors by the founder Ferdinand Barbedienne (who purchased the rights to reproduce the work on order).²¹ The work is also one of the most significant pieces in Marcello’s *œuvre*, as it is the culmination of the two themes she favored, heroism and music, into one sculpture.

GOETHE, GOUNOD AND SYMBOLISM: MARCELLO’S *LA MARGUERITE DE GOETHE*

In 1867, two years after her success with *La Gorgone*, Marcello created a marble bust entitled *la Marguerite de Goethe* (fig. 4-4), a representation of the lead female character in Part I of Goethe’s *Faust* (1790). Her sculpture was inspired by Gounod’s successful opera of the same title, which had premiered at the Théâtre-Lyrique Impérial in Paris on 19 March 1859.²² In her memoirs, Marcello recalled the power of Goethe’s *Faust* after attending a performance of the opera with her friend Victor Cousin (1792-1867):

The friend who always gave advice to me was the philosopher Cousin; in order to change him from his profession of too many principles, I took him one evening, but this later, to hear Gounod’s Faust [...] I remember that he left after the third act and said to me that he had walked for two hours before being able to return home, so much had he been moved. But it is not Faust he said and perhaps Faust cannot exist in music; it is Marguerite, it is her, her, and once again disturbed, he asked me to thank Gounod for these emotions of the heart and the youth that he owed to him immediately. Here

19. Jean-Baptiste Lully, *Persée*, libretto by Philippe Quinault, English trans. by Geoffrey Marshall. (Paris: Astrée, 2001), 62, compact disc recording with libretto. “Je porte l’épouvante et la mort en tous lieux, Tout se change en rocher à mon aspect horrible; Les traits que Jupiter lance du haut des cieus, n’ont rien de si terrible, qu’un regard de mes yeux. Les plus grands dieux du ciel, de la terre et de l’onde, du soin de se vanger se reposent sur moy; si je perds la douceur d’estre l’amour du monde, j’ay le plaisir nouveau d’en devenir l’effroy.” [Note: the original is written in seventeenth-century French, hence the old French spellings have been retained.]

20. Alcestis, or Alceste was the wife of Admetus and the daughter of Pelias. Admetus was granted immortality on the condition that when it was really his time to die, someone else should go in his stead. His wife cheerfully agreed to die in his place so that her husband’s life would be spared. Admetus mourned his wife’s death so deeply that Hercules retrieved her from the underworld so they could be together once more. Alcestis’s history is recounted in *Martialis, Epigrammata* and *Hyginus, Fabulae (Genealogiae)*.

21. See Chapter Three for additional analysis of *La Gorgone*.

22. For a history of the Théâtre Lyrique, see T.J. Walsh, *Second Empire Opera: The Théâtre Lyrique Paris 1851-1870* (New York: Riverrun Press, 1981).



Fig. 4-4.
Marcello. *Marguerite from Goethe's Faust*. 1867. Marble.
Fondation
Marcello, Fribourg, on extended loan to the Musée d'art
et d'histoire, Fribourg [S 35].

are successes that are equal to those from the general public.²³

The prestige bestowed upon women who performed on the operatic stage was considerable during the nineteenth century, and the best singers were considered celebrities of the highest order.²⁴ They were the “divas” of their age, and photographs of them were often published in opera brochures and in the press. Thus opera singers and female operatic characters provided Marcello with numerous examples of women in powerful, heroic roles. Her female figures, which greatly outnumber male figures in her work, are often endowed with greater-than-life attributes. She may have also personally identified with these women, particularly with their strong commitment to work and their independent spirit. Marcello’s depiction of such figures helped to further their empowerment, as well as asserting her own. Thus, it is not surprising that she was so interested in opera performers and the characters they portrayed; they held a dual place in her oeuvre both as depictions of musical figures and as heroic females.

The Faust legend inspired many artists, composers, and writers in the nineteenth century. Its earliest source is found in the New Testament (Acts 8: 9-24), where the story of the magician Simon Magus, who conspired to sell his soul to the devil in exchange for supernatural powers, is recounted. The story had a revival in Europe during the Middle Ages, and a historical figure calling himself “Faust the Younger” surfaced in Germany during the Renaissance. Biographies of “Dr. Johann Fausten” appeared in Germany in 1587, and a year later the English dramatist Christopher Marlowe published his *Tragic History of Doctor Faustus*. It is, however, Goethe’s *Faust*, the best-known version of the legend, which revived the story for an eighteenth- (and nineteenth-) century European audience after its publication in 1790. Louis de Sainte-Aulaire, Albert Stapfer (both in 1823), and Gérard de Nerval (in 1827) provided independent French translations of *Faust*.

Fostered by a renewed interest in Gothic, Germanic and medieval themes, depictions of characters from Goethe’s work were incredibly popular during the Romantic period in France.²⁵ Eugène Delacroix (1798-1863), whom Marcello greatly admired, created eighteen lithographs of the Faust epic to illustrate Stapfer’s translation in 1828. Delacroix’s *Faust* lithographs included five images devoted to the scenes where Marguerite figures prominently in Goethe’s text. These scenes included the meeting of Marguerite and Faust; Marguerite at her spinning wheel; Marguerite in church; Marguerite’s appa-

23. Adèle Colonna (Marcello), personal memoirs, unfinished and unpublished (known as *Mémoires d’Adèle d’Affry*), c. late 1870s, Archives FM, “Paris 18” [original manuscript], 57 [typewritten copy]. “L’ami aux conseils était toujours le philosophe Cousin, pour le sortir de ses professions de principes, je le menai un soir, mais ceci plus tard, entendre le Faust de Gounod, je me rappelle qu’il sortit après le 3^e acte et me dit avoir marché ensuite 2 heures avant de pouvoir rentrer chez lui, tant il avait été ému. Mais ce n’est pas Faust disait-il, et peut-être Faust ne peut il exister en musique, c’est Marguerite, elle, elle, est de nouveau troublée, il me priait de remercier Gounod pour ces émotions du cœur et la jeunesse qu’il lui avait due un instant. Voilà des succès qui valent ceux d’une foule.” It is unclear whether Marcello was speaking here of attending the 1859 performance of Gounod’s *Faust* or one of the revival performances in 1867 or 1869.

24. For an overview of the female singers of this period, see Jean Gourret, *Encyclopédie des fabuleuses cantatrices de l’Opéra de Paris* (Paris: Éditions Mengès, 1981), esp. 131-74.

25. The texts on Romanticism are too numerous to mention in a footnote. Here I am thinking in particular of Chapter Four of Hugh Honour’s *Romanticism*, 156-91, entitled “The Last Enchantments of the Middle Age,” which discusses artists’ interest in Gothic themes during the nineteenth century.



Fig. 4-5.
James-Jacques-Joseph Tissot. *The Meeting of Faust and Marguerite*. 1860.
Oil on wood.
Musée d'Orsay, Paris.
Photo: Réunion des Musées Nationaux / Art Resource, NY.



Fig. 4-6.
Photograph of Marie Miolan-Carvalho in the role of Marguerite in Gounod's *Faust*, Prison scene. Circa 1859.
Photograph. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.

rition as witnessed by Faust; and Marguerite in her prison cell. In the last two of these images, Marguerite is shown partially nude and before the moment of her repentance. Certainly Marcello would have been aware of these images, given their popularity and her own admiration for the French painter; however, a completely different type of characterization, much less sexualized and bordering on the beatified, embodies her image of Marguerite.

Other artists were equally fascinated by the *Faust* epic, and a profusion of images and musical works flooded France by mid-century. The Romantic painter Ary Scheffer delved into *Faust*, producing a number of paintings, beginning in 1829, which emphasized Marguerite's role in the legend. James Tissot's (1836-1902) *Rencontre de Faust et de Marguerite* (fig. 4-5, *The Meeting of Faust and Marguerite*, 1860, Paris, Musée d'Orsay) was purchased by the French government in 1860 and was exhibited in the Musée du Luxembourg soon afterwards. In his work, it is the shy Marguerite that Faust encounters, not the defiant-looking woman one witnesses in Delacroix lithograph of the same scene. In music, Goethe's work inspired Berlioz's *La Damnation de Faust*, which premiered in 1846 and encouraged other composers to explore the theme, including Gounod, whose opera focuses exclusively on Part I of Goethe's text, and Franz Liszt, whose *Eine Faust-Symphonie* was completed in 1857.

In Goethe's text, Marguerite is redeemed at the end of Part I and Faust, the protagonist, at the end of Part II. But for Gounod, the principal character is undoubtedly Marguerite, the only truly admirable figure in the story and whose redemption concludes his opera. A pious girl driven by shame to infanticide, Marguerite recognizes she must take responsibility for her actions, repents in her prison cell, and is redeemed. Interestingly, Germans at the time called Gounod's opera *Margarethe* because they felt his opera did not do justice to Goethe's original text, and because it focused too strongly on the lead female character. Gounod and Scheffer both emphasized Marguerite's role in their works, while some artists, such as Berlioz and Delacroix, were more interested in Faust and the demonic, gothic qualities of Mephistopheles.²⁶ As noted in previous chapters, Marcello's oeuvre was particularly devoted to heroic (and often tragic) female figures, and her Marguerite is no exception. Like Gounod and Scheffer, Marcello saw Marguerite, rather than Faust, as the protagonist of Goethe's epic.

Jules Barbier and Michael Carré, Gounod's librettists, adhered closely to Goethe's



Fig. 4-7. Carte de visite photograph of Marie Miolan-Carvalho. Circa 1860. Photograph. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.

26. For an analysis of Gounod's *Faust*, see Steven Huebner, *The Operas of Charles Gounod*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 101. Earlier artists such as the playwright Christopher Marlowe, in whose *Doctor Faustus* there are no female characters whatsoever, seemed to focus more intently on the male protagonist.

27. The libretto contains the lines “Pourquoi ce regard menaçant?” and “Anges purs, anges radieux, portez mon âme au sein des cieux!” See Charles-François Gounod, *Faust*, libretto by Jules Barbier and Michel Carré, English trans. by B. Vienne. (New York: EMI, 1986), 177. In Goethe’s original text, Marguerite anger is more forceful when says to Faust in the prison cell, “Leave me! No, I shall suffer no force! Do not grip me so murderously! After all, I did everything you asked.” (Laß mich! Nein, ich leide keine Gewalt! Fasse mich nicht so mörderisch an! Sonst hab ich dir ja alles zulieb getan.) See Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Faust*, English Trans. by Walter Kaufmann. (New York: Anchor/Doubleday, 1990 [1790]), 418-21.

28. Spire Pitou, *The Paris Opéra: An Encyclopedia of Operas, Ballets, Composers, and Performers. Growth and Grandeur, 1815-1914* (New York, Westport, Conn., and London: Greenwood Press, 1990), 463. See also Walsh, *Second Empire Opera*, 96-106, *passim*.

29. For a discussion of hair as an ambiguous sign, see Roland Barthes, “The Romans in Films,” in *Mythologies*, trans. Annette Lavers (New York: Hill and Wang, 1998 [1957]), 26-28.

30. Although not depicted in Marcello’s sculpture, Marguerite is often shown at her spinning wheel (*la quenouille*), which was a symbol of women’s work in traditional society. The detail of the loose thread or string on Marguerite’s blouse in Marcello’s sculpture has, no doubt, a similar connotation (the “knot” between Marguerite and Faust had not been tied).

31. In Goethe’s work, Marguerite gives her mother what she thinks is a sleeping draught (provided by Faust at Mephistopheles’ suggestion), so she and Faust may meet secretly. Unbeknownst to Marguerite and Faust, the draught was a poison. In Barbier and Carré’s libretto, the mother’s death is alluded to as something that had happened in the distant past, and we learn only of the death of the child.

32. Le Flâneur, “Le Salon,” *Revue de Paris* ([1 May] 1867): 117-18.

33. Eugène Chapus, in *Le Sport* (10 April 1867), Newspaper clipping, Archives FM. “La Marguerite, de Goethe, buste en marbre qui rappelle, dans plus d’un détail, le caractère physionomique de Mme Carvalho, qui a plus d’une fois posé à son insu pour cette œuvre.” [The Marguerite, from Goethe, bust in marble which recalls, in more than one detail, the physiognomic character of Mme Carvalho, who has more than once posed, without having known it, for this work.]

original text, retaining in the end Marguerite’s defiant refusal to escape from prison with Faust and her redemption at the moment of her death.²⁷ The final act of the opera closes with Marguerite’s ascension, body and soul, into heaven. As Mephistopheles cries, “She is condemned!” he is corrected by a voice from heaven: “No, she is saved!” Caroline-Marie-Felix Miolan-Carvalho (1827-1895, figs. 4-6 and 4-7), one of the most highly acclaimed singers of the second half of the nineteenth century, created and played the role of Marguerite (sometimes referred to by her German name, Gretchen) to great acclaim, and often revisited the role. She gave fifty-seven performances as Marguerite during the 1859 run of *Faust*. Miolan-Carvalho’s best performances were those at the Théâtre-Lyrique Impérial, directed by her husband, Léon Carvalho.²⁸

Upon viewing the sculpture, it is evident that Marcello represented Marguerite at the very moment of her redemption (see fig. 4-4). The sculpted figure seems to implore forgiveness and her expression is one of peace mixed with pensive sadness. Her hair, partly braided (symbolizing order) and partly loose (symbolizing sensuality and chaos), cascades wildly over her shoulders, suggesting the detachment from reality, her divided loyalties (to Faust and to God), and the loss of sensibility that she experienced in the prison cell.²⁹ The simple garment she wears, its only adornment a floral scroll neckline, suggests the spinner’s humble background. Fine details, such as the loosely strung and untied bodice, give the figure a romantic aura and act to remind the viewer of Marguerite at her spinning wheel.³⁰ The use of blank eyeballs (not incised) endows the figure with the appearance of a mysterious, otherworldly being, and one senses that Marguerite’s apotheosis has already occurred. While Faust, under the protection of the devil, was doomed to a possible eternity as the devil’s servant, Marguerite, who drowned her child out of shame, was the cause of her brother Valentin’s death, and in Goethe’s original text, accidentally murdered her mother, attained salvation through sincere remorse.³¹

Whether Marcello’s *Marguerite* is a portrait of Miolan-Carvalho is far from certain but surely the artist had the soprano and her performance in mind when she sculpted the piece. In his review of the *Exposition Universelle* of 1867, the critic known as “Le Flâneur” noted that the piece was rumored to exhibit the physiognomic characteristics of Miolan-Carvalho.³² The critic Eugène Chapus had made a similar suggestion.³³ The clothing, expression, garment, and hairstyle of Marcello’s figure closely resemble those of Miolan-Carvalho in a publicity photo circa 1859, which shows the opera singer in the role of Marguerite during the prison scene of Act Five (see fig. 4-6). It is very likely that

Marcello saw Miolan-Carvalho's performance as Marguerite during her stay in Paris in 1859, and could also have met her at one of Pauline Viardot's salons. She certainly knew the soprano, as evidenced by her *carte de visite*, found among Marcello's collection of photographs. Produced by Charles Reutlinger of 21 Boulevard Montmartre, Paris, the photograph is still extant at the Fondation Marcello (see fig. 4-7). Also conserved there is a drawing by Marcello dated "nov. 66," which undoubtedly represents the scene of Faust and Mephistopheles meeting Marguerite for the first time (fig. 4-8).³⁴ Therefore it may have been a later performance of Faust that had actually inspired the sculpture of Marguerite.

Gounod's works greatly inspired Marcello who seems to have been friendly with the composer sometime before the premier of his *Roméo and Juliette* in 1867, at which time Miolan-Carvalho again starred in the lead female role. Fearing the reaction of the critics, Gounod wanted to be surrounded by his friends on the night of the premiere at the Théâtre Lyrique. As if gathering recruits for a military coup, he summoned his friend Marcello to attend the premiere and assist him at the front lines: "It is tonight – this was decided only yesterday at midnight – do not fail me. I need stout hearts to succeed and yours is worth that of a general."³⁵ Although Pauline Viardot may have introduced Gounod and Marcello, possibly as early as 1859, the singer had been on less than amicable terms with Gounod since his marriage to Anna Zimmerman in 1852.³⁶

A fundamental music-related sketch is also found among Marcello's drawings from the period. Evidence that Marcello knew Gounod by 1867 exists in this drawing, which is marked "Mlle Block en Sapho, chez Gounod 12 avril 67," (fig. 4-9).³⁷ This drawing is also significant because it lends proof to the suggestion that Marcello brought her small sketchbooks to performances to make studies for future works, using the opera and other performances as direct sources for her sculptures.

Even before *Marguerite* was exhibited in the *Exposition Universelle* of 1867, the press had pointed out the influence of Gounod's opera on the sculpture. An unknown British journalist, eagerly awaiting the viewing of the bust in Paris, wrote of Marcello's devotion to music in connection to her sculpture:

There is another bust I am longing to see, the Marguerite of Faust, which is not

34. This drawing is found in a sketchbook in the Salon Chinois marked "ALBUM No. III," with the brand label "Papeterie deluxe A. Cousin, rue de Bac 53, Paris." The verso of this drawing reads in Marcello's hand: "Faire des portraits de lignes, et de quantités masses nombres avait de faire de portraits de traits au de sentiments etc., etc."

35. Charles-François Gounod to Adèle d'Affry (Marcello), undated [but circa 26 April 1867], Archives FM. "C'est ce soir – cela n'a été décidé que hier à minuit – ne me manquez pas! Il me faut des cœurs pour vaincre et le vôtre vaut bien un général..."

36. It seems that Gounod's mother and in-laws heard rumors that he and Viardot had once been lovers, a fact both denied. Viardot was barred from the wedding and her gift of a bracelet to the bride returned with a nasty letter written by Gounod, seemingly under the direction of his wife, his family and his in-laws. For the full tale, see April Fitzlyon, *The Price of Genius: A Life of Pauline Viardot* (New York: Appleton Century, 1964), 284-9. Many of Gounod's letters to Marcello are unsigned, which may have acted to protect him in case they were to somehow come to his wife's attention. On his end, Gounod covered his tracks by showing all letters sent to him by other women to his wife. According to Marcello, "Gounod dans mari de dévotion donne à lire à sa femme toutes mes lettres et celles de toutes ses autres amies femmes." [Gounod, devoted in his marriage, gives to his wife to read all my letters and those of his other female friends.] Personal notes, dated "déc 68," Archives FM.

37. This drawing is also found in the sketchbook in the Salon Chinois marked "ALBUM No. III," with the brand label "Papeterie deluxe A. Cousin, rue de Bac 53, Paris."



Fig. 4-8. Marcello. Drawing after a scene from *Faust* (*Meeting of Faust and Marguerite*).
Circa 1867. Sanguine drawing with graphite. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.



Fig. 4-9.
Marcello. Drawing of Mademoiselle Block in the role of Sappho.
Dated 12 April 1867. Graphite drawing heightened with white on beige paper.
Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.

yet, I think, at the Champs de Mars. While the bust was in execution the Duchess spent the evenings of a whole fortnight at the Théâtre Lyrique, imbuing her imagination with Gounod's music, learning by heart, with the musician's aid, every charm of Goethe's heroine.³⁸

This short review lends credence to the fact that Marcello was in attendance at later performances of *Faust* that ran in Paris in 1867. After the completion of *Marguerite*, the soprano Christine Nilsson (1843-1921) sung the role of Marguerite in a revival performance for the Opéra de Paris in 1869 to great acclaim. Nilsson performed at the Théâtre-Lyrique in various roles between 1864 and 1867. Marcello owned *carte de visite* images of Nilsson, still extant at the Fondation Marcello, and it seems clear that the sculptor admired the performer, and may have seen Nilsson in the role of Marguerite at a later date.

Writings and letters between them reveal that Marcello and Gounod had an obvious respect for each other's art. In her diary circa 1870 Marcello recorded the high esteem she had for Gounod's music. She appears to have been stirred by his music, to which she responded on an intimate level:

*The music of Gounod reveals this soft and tender side of the heart, which belongs to A, and I see from my loge box where I am honored by my friends the place where I was [illegible word] seated next to A, overcome with love and poetry. Contrast – it is the law of life, of the heart also, and [of] all of these men who made promises to me, only one knew how to touch the unknown cords of my soul, not the most powerful but the most gently vibrating, and the most delicate.*³⁹

Gounod and Marcello corresponded with each other between 1867 and 1870. Forty-seven letters, some quite romantic in tone, from Gounod to Marcello have survived and are in the archives of the Fondation Marcello in Givisiez, but her replies have not been found and are presumed destroyed. Steven Huebner noted in his text, *The Operas of Charles Gounod* that “for Gounod [Marcello] was more than a fellow artist; she was a soulmate in speculative forays among higher spheres of art and beauty, a source of intellectual companionship to fill a void in his existence with the more earthbound Anna.”⁴⁰ Since his wife was known for her jealousy, it is very possible that Gounod quickly destroyed any letters he received from Marcello, or his wife destroyed them after

38. Author unknown, “Correspondence from Paris,” Newspaper clipping from a British journal, c. summer 1867, Archives FM.

39. Adèle Colonna (Marcello), personal diary sheets (known as the *Extraits de cahiers et pages d'agenda*), Undated sheet, circa 1870, Archives F.M. “La musique de Gounod réveille ce côté suave et tendre du cœur, qui appartient à A., et je vois de ma loge où je suis fêtée par mes petits amis la place où j'étais [illegible word - magnèrent (?)] assise auprès d'A. éperdu d'amour et de poésie. Contraste, c'est la loi de la vie, du cœur aussi, et tous ces hommes me voueraient, un seul a su toucher des cordes ignorées de mon âme, non les plus puissantes mais les plus doucement vibrantes, et les plus délicates.” “A.” probably referred to Gounod's wife, Anna Zimmerman.

40. Huebner, 79.



Fig. 4-10.
Marcello. *Paolo and Francesca*. Circa 1862. Terra cotta. Fondation
Marcello, Fribourg [S 50].

his death. Many of Gounod's letters to Marcello are unsigned, which may be evidence of Anna's jealousy.⁴¹

At the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War, Gounod moved to London, where he was the guest of the English soprano Georgina Weldon (1837-1914). The correspondence between Marcello and him seems to have ended at this time. There are no extant letters at the Fondation Marcello by Gounod written after 1870, and there are no letters from Marcello to him among his London papers conserved at the Dorothy and Lewis B. Cullman Center at the New York Public Library for the Performing Arts. Huebner has suggested that their friendship and letter writing may have cooled when Gounod's admiration for Marcello shifted from a platonic to a romantic nature, but the composer's move to London, the Franco-Prussian War, and Marcello's declining health may have all similarly contributed to the ceasing of their communication.⁴²

DANTE, GOUNOD, AND SYMBOLISM: MARCELLO'S *PAOLO AND FRANCESCA*

Another of Marcello's works that was based in a traditionally Romantic and later Symbolist subject and that also had connections to an opera was her sketch *Paolo and Francesca* (fig. 4-10). The lovers' story is best known from Dante's *Inferno*, where in Canto Five the poet meets the couple in the Second Circle of Hell, reserved for carnal sinners. Francesca da Rimini, daughter of Guido Vecchio da Polenta, was married to Gianciotto, the deformed son of Malatesta da Verrucchio, Lord of Rimini. After ten years of marriage, Gianciotto caught his wife with his brother, Paolo, and stabbed the pair to death. As their story became legend, romanticized embellishments were added to it, and the facts were changed.⁴³ Dante's writings held a preeminent status among sources used by Romantic and Symbolist artists, and Dante remained an important font of material for both Marcello and Gounod.⁴⁴

Marcello undoubtedly inspired Gounod to begin a project based on Dante's *Inferno*, particularly the story of the doomed love of Paolo and Francesca. Gounod never finished the opera score, nor did Marcello ever complete her sculpture of the same subject. This work, simply entitled *Paolo and Francesca*, was sketched in terra-cotta sometime around 1862. It depicts two figures seated quite apart from each other on a bench. Although incomplete, the sketch provides a wonderful example of Marcello's working method. With only the slightest detailing of the faces and discreet tool marks that outline the clothing, the figures are almost entirely built up of small clay pieces pressed into shapes.

41. Although many of his letters are signed, some of Gounod's letters to Marcello lack a signature, particularly if the letter in question is somewhat romantic in tone. This may have been done in an attempt on Gounod's part to protect himself in the event that his wife discovered such letters. Many sources on the Gounod family make note of Zimmerman's extremely jealous nature.

42. Huebner, 79. The date of their estrangement is difficult to assess since many of Gounod's letters to Marcello are undated.

43. Dante Alighieri, *The Divine Comedy*. The Carlyle-Okey-Wicksteed Translation. (New York: Vintage Books, 1959).

44. This is not to say that other artists during the century ignored Dante's works. William Blake's illustrations for the *Inferno* include one of his more famous works, *Whirlwind of Lovers* (1827, also known as *The Circle of the Lustful*), and Auguste Rodin included many figures from the same text in his *Gates of Hell* (1800-1917), including a sculpture entitled *Paolo and Francesca* added to the *Gates* around 1887.

Although the date of the sketch is unknown, in 1862 Marcello wrote about the theme in her personal diary:

*Francesca and Paolo are a reflection of this profound impression that the reading of Dante made on me. In this manner artistic creation must spring forth, sequel and consequence of an impression received, exterior manifestation of a state of the soul, where one becomes truly an artist from the moment one picks up the tools, one falls precipitously from the radiant contemplation of an Earthly paradise, to [an] existence full of perils, worries, sometimes errors, which is the lot of humanity, fallen from grace. Consequently let us work, we were condemned to work, by labor we shall achieve resurrection.*⁴⁵

That the *Paolo and Francesca* sketch probably dates from the year 1862 is partly explained by the existence of this diary entry and also by Marcello's 1861 meeting in Rome with Carpeaux, where he had been working on his Dantesque subject *Ugolino and His Sons* (1860). However, Marcello's correspondence with Gounod and their mutual interest in Dante could just as strongly suggest a later date.

In an undated letter on official Théâtre-Lyrique Impérial stationery, Gounod wrote excitedly to Marcello regarding their mutual respect for Dante (and his submissive obsession with her):

*Here I am now [immersed] in your, in our beloved Dante! Dante! who, with you, introduces me to Francesca! Dante, to whom I will now say "Altissimo Poeta," as he said to his guide in the immortal regions! Dante, whose orders I will listen to and whose hand I will not leave! Dante, with whom I will be able to call upon you at all hours of days and nights, you, my Francesca, my Beatrice! [...] One doesn't hate their creations and you have created so much of me that all I find in myself comes from you! O dear beloved! May Francesca bring you an echo of all that your image sings inside of me! [...] I know one thing; it is that if souls communicate by migrating at the end of this wretched world [,] it is yours that will be found merged in mine, like Francesca's in that of Paolo's – Marcello! Marcello! Tu sei la mia maestra [You are my master]!*⁴⁶

Huebner has suggested that Gounod's failed attempt at romantically wooing Mar-

45. Adèle Colonna (Marcello), personal diary (known as the *Carnet Intimes*), 10 November 1862, Archives FM. "Francesca et Paolo sont un reflet de cette profonde impression que m'a fait la lecture de Dante, ainsi doit jaillir la création artistique, suite et conséquence d'une impression reçue, manifestation extérieure d'un état de l'âme où l'on est véritablement artiste, du moment où l'on prend l'outil, on déchoit, on passe de la radieuse contemplation du paradis terrestre à l'existence toute pleine de périls, d'inquiétudes, d'erreurs parfois qui est le partage de l'humanité déchue. Ainsi travaillons-nous, nous y fûmes condamnés, par le labeur nous arriverons à la résurrection."

46. Charles-François Gounod to Adèle Colonna (Marcello), undated letter on official stationery from the Théâtre-Lyrique Impérial, Archives FM. "[...] – me voici maintenant dans votre... dans notre bien-aimé Dante! Dante! – qui avec vous me montre Francesca! Dante à qui je vais dire maintenant "altissimo poeta", comme il le disait à son guide dans les régions immortelles! Dante dont je vais écouter les ordres et ne plus quitter la main! Dante avec qui je vais pouvoir désormais vous nommez à toutes heures des jours et des nuits, vous ma Francesca, ma Beatrice! [...] On ne hait pas sa créature et vous m'avez tellement créé que je ne trouve pas en moi que ce qui me vient de vous! – Ô chère bien-aimée! Francesca vous portera-t-elle un écho de tout ce que votre image chante en moi! [...] Je sais une chose, c'est que si les âmes s'ouvrent s'en déploient au sortir de ce pauvre ici bas! C'est la vôtre qu'on trouvera enveloppée dans la mienne, comme celle des Francesca dans celle de Paolo – Marcello! Marcello! Tu sei la mia maestra!"



Fig. 4-11.
Marcello. *Rosina*. 1869. Terra cotta. Musée d'art et
d'histoire, Fribourg [M 17].
Photograph by the author.



Fig. 4-12.
Marcello. *Rosina*. 1869. Terra cotta. Musée d'art et
d'histoire, Fribourg [M 17].
Photograph by the author.



Fig. 4-13.

Marcello, *Rosina*, detail showing left hand holding a letter. 1869. Terra cotta. Musée d'art et d'histoire, Fribourg [M 17]. Photograph by the author.

cello, followed by adulterous guilt and a bout of depression, were the reasons his opera on the subject was never completed.⁴⁷ Gounod had wanted to save the two lovers from being damned at the end of his opera, but due to his strong religious beliefs, he could not bring himself to complete the opera in this way. He wrote to Marcello explaining why he changed the ending of his opera (which he continued to work on) from one that saved the lovers to one that damned them: "I have rewritten the epilogue of my poem and my conclusion is the same as Dante's. This solution gives me real relief. When I imagined myself grappling with heaven, on the threshold of the idea of adultery, courage failed me and I tore up the scene."⁴⁸ It is possible that some level of personal guilt about his feelings for Marcello contributed to his changing, and ultimately not finishing, his work.

Although Marcello's *Paolo and Francesca* is only a sketch of minor scale, it reveals her commitment to Dantesque themes. It was without doubt her interest in the subject of Dante's *Inferno* that inspired Gounod's project, albeit never realized. As such it is an important footnote to nineteenth-century musical history and relevant to any catalogue of Marcello's musically-based sculptures.

ROSSINI'S *IL BARBIERE DI SIVIGLIA* AND MARCELLO'S *LA ROSINA*

Although neither the sculptural nor the musical compositions for *Paolo and Francesca* were ever completed by Marcello or Gounod, Marcello continued working on musical subjects, and produced, in 1869, a statuette entitled *La Rosina* (see figs. 4-11 through 4-13). Marcello also made preliminary plasters for *Rosina*, showing a different choice of pose and stance (fig. 4-14). The figure represents the female lead in Rossini's *Il Barbiere di Siviglia* (*The Barber of Seville*), first performed in 1816. Originally written by the playwright Pierre-Augustin Caron de Beaumarchais (1732-1799), *The Barber of Seville* (1775) was the first of his trilogy that included *The Marriage of Figaro* (1784) and *The Guilty Mother* (1792).⁴⁹ The first two of these were extremely successful in the eighteenth century when they were performed in Paris, and they found renewed success after Rossini and his librettists converted them into operas in the early nineteenth century.

Although it cannot be asserted with certainty, it is thought that a Madame Isabella de Madrazzo, the sister-in-law of the painters Rosalès and Fortuny, was the model for the statuette.⁵⁰ In a letter written to her mother on 22 July 1869, Marcello speaks of three



Fig. 4-14. Marcello. *Rosina* (showing damage). Circa 1869. Plaster. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg [S 14]. Photograph by the author.

47. Huebner, 79-80.

48. Charles-François Gounod to Adèle Colonna (Marcello), undated letter, Archives FM. "J'ai refait l'épilogue de mon poème et je conclus comme Dante. J'éprouve une vraie délivrance de cette solution. Quand je me suis vu aux prises avec le paradis, sur le seuil de l'adultère, le courage m'a manqué, j'ai déchiré le tableau."

49. For a discussion of these plays in the context of marriage roles in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, see Patricia Mainardi, *Husbands, Wives, and Lovers: Marriage and Its Discontents in Nineteenth Century France* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003), 123-25.

figures on which she was working:

I have made three statuettes, one of Eléonore [sic] Wittgenstein, a pretty little coquette, the other of the little Madrazzo, and one of a male musician playing an instrument. It is still unfinished but it has struck those who have seen it. It is all about movement; true, animated, amusing, and voilà, they are types.⁵¹

Rosina is the main female protagonist in Rossini's *Il Barbiere*. The Count Almaviva, who saw Rosina in Madrid with her guardian, Doctor Bartolo, tries to serenade her at her window in Seville. Figaro, who is the family barber, explains that he might be able to help the Count reach the girl. After finding out that the Doctor wants to marry the girl, Figaro and the Count, with Rosina's help, come up with various schemes to confuse the Doctor and foil his plans for marriage. Rosina, with a letter she has written to the Count (whom she thinks is Lindoro, a poor wretch), is prepared to meet her lover in spite of the Doctor's wishes. After a number of comical events to foil the Doctor, Lindoro finally reveals to Rosina that he is the wealthy Count, affirms his authority over the Doctor, and wins Rosina, who becomes his countess.

On the front base of Marcello's statuette of the figure, Marcello carved with a tool the words "È già scritta [...] Al cospetto." This refers, although somewhat incorrectly, to lines in the libretto of the opera, neither of which Rosina actually says. In Act I, Figaro notes that Rosina has already written (*Già era scritto*) the letter to her beloved Lindoro, which will explain her devotion to him. The phrase "Al cospetto," literally means "in front of," but as interpreted in the libretto for *Il Barbiere* it means "Oh damnation!" Both Figaro and Doctor Bartolo repeat this phrase throughout the opera. A tiny letter is held in the left hand of Marcello's figure, thus providing a clue to the textual source (detail, [fig. 4-13](#)). *La Rosina* was a perfect subject for Marcello to sculpt, since the character was a strong-minded woman; determined not to marry Bartolo, Rosina decides to take matters into her own hands by writing to her beloved, even before Figaro urges her to do so.

An additional related plaster, unfortunately damaged, can be found at the Fondazione Marcello ([fig. 4-14](#)). Although the placement of the arms, the stance, and the turn of the head are different from the final version of *Rosina*, the white plaster contains similar characteristics, including the facial features and the style of the dress and shoes. This

50. It seems from Marcello's writings that Madrazzo was a singer, but she may have been a minor figure or an amateur, as she is not listed in Jean Gourret's *Encyclopédie des cantatrices* (1981) or his *Dictionnaire des cantatrices de l'Opéra de Paris* (Paris: Éditions Albatros, 1987). For additional information on the Madrazzo connection to the Rosina statuette, see Anita Petrovski, "La Rosina (1869) ou la silhouette caractérisée. Une Approche de la figure féminine sculptée par « Marcello » Adèle d'Affry (1836-1879), duchesse Castiglione Colonna." *Studiolo, Revue d'Histoire de l'art de l'Académie de France à Rome* (4 – 2006): 243-260.

51. Adèle Colonna (Marcello) to her mother, the Countess d'Affry, 22 July 1869, Archives FM. "J'ai fait trois statuettes, l'une d'Eléonore Wittgenstein, la cocodette, l'autre de la petite Madrazzo, et une d'un musicien se complaisant dans son instrument. Ceci est incomplète encore, mais a [Trans. Note: illegible, but seems to be: saisi les gens que] c'est juste [sic] mouvement, vrai, animé, amusant, et voilà de types." Although Marcello mentions "Eléonore Wittgenstein" in this letter, it is more likely that she is referring to Princess Carolyne-Jeanne-Elisabeth von Sayn-Wittgenstein (née Iwanowska, 1819-1887), Liszt's companion.

plaster is marked “première” under the base of the sculpture. There are two other versions of *Rosina* in terra-cotta found at the Fondation Marcello and at the Musée d’art et d’histoire in Fribourg. Another plaster statuette in severely damaged condition at the Fondation Marcello embodies a pose and composition different from that of the final version of *Rosina*, lending proof to the fact that Marcello worked on the statuette intensively.

Marcello knew Rossini personally and she was certainly inspired by his musical contributions. Attached to a letter written in Italian by Rossini to Marcello is an autographed sheet of music, complete with a musical “sketch” (fig. 4-15). This seems to have been presented in exchange for a gift or purchase of a sculpture by Marcello, sent to him in 1864. In the only extant letter from Rossini to Marcello, whom she seems to have known very well, the composer thanked the sculptor for a gift and praised her:

Adorable Duchess, my poor health has kept me from replying before (as courtesy required), to your most kind letter of February 24th [of the previous month], this pledge of your constant goodness towards me. It announced the generous gift which now is in my possession and which constitutes the most beautiful ornament in my study. This Lazzaroncina [lit. little lazy girl] modeled by my S... (who is the most noble feminine type there could ever be, of the Colonna who sustains my old age in my earthly corner) was and ever will be my delight; thank you, therefore, my esteemed Duchess and please be assured that my gratitude is equal to my admiration for you.

It saddens me that mourning will keep you far away from us for some time; may these days of delay, assisted by the wings of our endearment for you, fly quickly and restore the supreme joy of seeing you again. [You are] as beautiful as nature made you, as good as maternal influence wished you. My wife, who is most devoted to you, joins me in paying respect to the author of your days, your fortunate mother. I would also wish to assure you that I am second to none in my love and admiration for you. Please believe the truthfulness of our warm feelings of gratitude and adoration that I have written on this sheet of paper.⁵²

Although it is difficult to speculate which work Marcello sent to Rossini, it may have been the *Bust of the Duchess of San Cesario* (see Chapter Three). The work was, as of two decades ago, part of the public collections of Paris that came from Rossini’s personal collection (currently unlocated). Rossini requested a marble copy

52. Gioachino Rossini to Adèle Colonna (Marcello), from Paris, dated 6 March 1864, Archives FM. “Adorable Duchessa, La malferma mia salute m’impedi’ riscontrasse prima d’ora (come me ne correva debito) la pregiatissima vostra 24 P.P., essa, pegno della costante vostra bontà per me. Mi annunziava il generoso dono che e’ ora in mio potere e che forma il piu’ bell’ornamento del mio gabinetto. Questa Lazzaroncina modelata dal mio S... (che e’ il tipo femminile piu’ nobile che esser si possa, dalla Colonna che sostiene la mia verchiazza, dal mio angolo terreno) fu’ e sana’ ognora la mia delizia; grazie, addunque o pregiatissima Duchessa piaciavi credere che la mia gratitudine ugualia’ la mia ammirazione per voi. Duolmi che un triste lutto vi tenga ancora per qualche tempo lontana da noi, possan questi giorni di ritardo, col sussidio delle ali della nostra tenerezza per voi volare rapidi e rinnovare il sommo bene di rivedervi. Bella quale natura, vi fece, Buona quanto l’Influenza materna lo volse. Mia moglie, che vi e’ devotissima, a me si unisce per ossequiare l’autrice dei vostri giorni, la fortunata madre vostra, io poi voglio siate certa che a nessun son secondo in amarvi ed ammirarvi, vogliate credere veritieri i caldi sentimenti di Riconoscenza e di adorazione che in questo foglio ho vergati.” I am grateful to Laura Travagin and Diane Kelder for their advice on the translation of this letter.

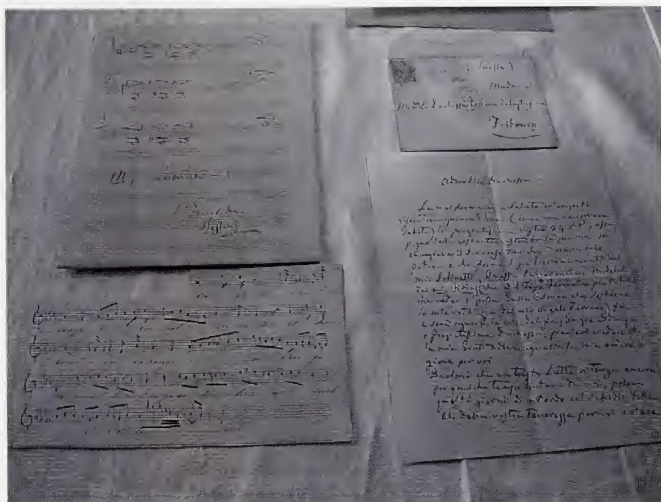


Fig. 4-15.
Letter and musical "sketch" from Rossini to Marcello.
Dated 6 March 1864.
Archival documents. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg.
Photograph by the author.



Fig. 4-16.
Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux. *Figaro*. 1873. Terra cotta.
Musée des Beaux-Arts, Valenciennes, France.
Photo: Réunion des Musées Nationaux / Art Resource,
NY.

of the sculpture from Marcello in 1863, after it had been successfully exhibited in the Salon of that year.

In connection to Marcello's relationship with Rossini, it has been stated by Henriette Bessis in her 1980 text on the sculptor that she produced a painted portrait of the composer. However such a portrait is currently unlocated. Although a painting entitled *Portrait de Rossini* is reproduced in Bessis' *Marcello: Sculpteur*, it appears to have been misidentified in the text.⁵³ The image is not a plausible likeness of the composer, and the archives of the Musée d'art et d'histoire in Fribourg entitles the same work a portrait of the Comte de Circourt. Albeit that Marcello certainly had an opportunity to produce a portrait of Rossini either in Rome or Paris, there is no evidence that she actually did so. While in Rome she did, however, produce portraits of Liszt and Gounod, as will be discussed below.

Finally, it has been noted that Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux produced an image of the character Figaro in 1873 that, if it were not for the difference in scale, could almost be a companion piece to Marcello's *Rosina* (compare *figs. 4-12* and *4-16*). Produced four years after *Rosina*, Carpeaux's *Figaro*, although significantly larger than Marcello's sculpture from the same opera, is sculpted in a similarly colored terra cotta and exhibits a similar pose (*i.e.*, a bow or curtsy). Although evidence has not been found as to whether Carpeaux was familiar with the *Rosina*, it is entirely possible that he saw the work in Marcello's studio. The *Figaro* is an unusual work in Carpeaux's *œuvre*, leading to the suggestion that Marcello's statuette inspired him to produce a similar terra-cotta figure of a character from Rossini's opera.

COLOSSAL SCULPTURE OF WILLIAM TELL

The story of William Tell undoubtedly would have been a subject of interest to Marcello because of her nationality, but she was also aware of the two most famous Romantic works based on Tell's life: Schiller's drama *Wilhelm Tell* (1805) and Rossini's opera *Guglielmo Tell* (1829). Interestingly, Dante also played a role in the conception of Marcello's sculpture of Tell. According to a diary entry dated 1 November 1863, she noted, "I have begun the William Tell. After having read a song of purgatory from Dante, and having meditating on the character of my hero, I went to the studio where I began with a most violent emotion."⁵⁴ Although the project was never completed, documentation at the Fondation Marcello suggests that she returned to the idea for the sculpture

53. Henriette Bessis, *Marcello: Sculpteur* (Fribourg, Musée d'art et d'histoire, 1980), 93.

54. Adèle Colonna (Marcello), personal diary (known as the *Carnet Intimes*), 5 November 1863, Archives FM. "Je commence le Guillaume Tell! Après avoir lu un chant du Purgatoire de Dante, et médité sur le caractère de mon héros, je vais à l'atelier où je débute par une plus violente émotion."



Fig. 4-17. Vincenzo Vela. *Monument to William Tell*. 1856. Plaster. Museo Vela, Ligornetto (Canton of Ticino), Switzerland. Photograph by the author.

throughout her career.

William Tell is the legendary national hero of Switzerland. Although Tell's story takes place in the early years of the thirteenth century, his tale is first recorded in the fifteenth century. It was at this time that Switzerland was ruled by Albert II, Duke of Austria, who placed Hermann Gessler in a powerful position as a governor, steward and bailiff of Uri. According to the legend, Gessler wanted to test the loyalty of the citizens of Uri to Austria, thus he placed his hat, decorated in the colors of Austria, on a pole in the center of town. All people were to bow to the hat when they passed it. Tell, who was from Bürglen, entered Uri with his son, Walter. It is not known whether Tell simply did not know of the order to bow to the hat or if he was directly defying the order, but in any case he failed to bow to it. For defying the order, Tell was challenged by Gessler to shoot an apple off of his son's head by crossbow. After successfully hitting the apple, Tell was asked why he had brought two arrows, to which he replied that the second was to kill Gessler, had he missed the apple and accidentally killed his son. For this remark, Tell was condemned, and was placed on a boat bound for Küsnacht prison, northeast of Luzern. A southern wind (known in Switzerland as the Föhn) caused the boat to almost be smashed, until the crew untied Tell and asked him to steer. After bringing the boat to safety, Tell fled across the canton of Schwyz. Gessler and his men came after him, but finally Tell used the second arrow to defeat the bailiff, piercing him in the heart. It is not known if the tale of the heroic archer who complied with an order to shoot an apple off of his son's head was based on a historical figure, but the events of Tell's story are often discussed as those which led to the end of Habsburg oppression and independence for Switzerland.⁵⁵ The Tell legend remains important to Swiss culture and identity.⁵⁶

Marcello's project for a sculpture of Tell seems to have progressed to the marble stage, as she had a *praticien* working on the piece, but parts of the work were destroyed during a shipment from Rome to Paris. Only written documents attest to the existence of these works; photographs, drawings, or other supporting material for the project have yet to be discovered. The colossal size of the sculpture appears to have presented daunting problems. Marcello complained in her writing about the difficulty involved in producing the piece, particularly concerning the heavy weight of the marble with which she had to work and the vast size of the sculpture. In addition she was troubled by vertigo whenever she climbed her ladder to work on the sculpture.⁵⁷

55. The classic for of the legend is retold in Aegidius (Gilg) Tschudi's encyclopedia of Switzerland, *Chronicon Helveticum* (Bern: Selbstverlag der Allgemeinen Geschichtsforschenden Gesellschaft der Schweiz [Auslieferung:] Stadt-und Universitätsbibliothek, 1968 [1734-36]).

56. For a discussion of the modern influence of the Tell legend onto modern Swiss culture and identity, see Uli Windisch and Florence Cornu, *Tell im Alltag* (Zürich: Edition M, 1988).

57. Adèle Colonna (Marcello), personal diary (known as the *Carnet Intimes*), 5 November 1863, Archives FM. "En escaladant mon échelle, je ressens des vertiges. . ."

Other significant Swiss artists developed sculptures of William Tell during the same period. *The Monument to William Tell* in Lugano, Switzerland (fig. 4-17) by the Ticino-based sculptor Vincenzo Vela (1820-1891) was already in place at the lakeside by 1856. Marcello's former teacher Heinrich Max Imhof (1795-1869) had begun his Tell Project in 1867, some years after hers (fig. 4-18); it was a project that engaged him until his death, and was never fully completed. Whereas for all of these artists, including Marcello, Tell was an important figure in their collective Swiss-consciousness, the influence of Rossini's opera (and Friedrich von Schiller's text, on which the opera is based) seems more evident in Marcello's project, based on her writings.

Marcello's concept for a colossal sculpture of Tell proved to be years ahead of its time. She seems to have wanted to propose the colossal sculpture to Tell's traditional home city of Aldorf, in the canton of Uri.⁵⁸ Many years later and after Marcello's death, in the 1890s, the Swiss government held a competition for an over-life sized bronze of the hero and his child. The commission was given to Richard Kissling (1848-1919), and his sculpture *Monument to William Tell and his Son* (1895) was given to and remains today at the Rathausplatz in Altdorf (fig. 4-19). Kissling's bronze remains one of the best-known images of Tell, and a highly popular public work of art. (The Swiss can identify it as easily as a New Yorker could the *State of Liberty* and Parisians the *Eiffel Tower*.) A native of Solothurn, Kissling was recognized as Switzerland's national sculptor by the turn of the century; but Marcello's concept and placement ideas for a sculpture of the same subject preceded his own by almost thirty years.

It is somewhat difficult to judge how important music was to Marcello's sculpture of Tell since it no longer exists and no sketches for it (either drawn or in terra-cotta or wax) have been uncovered. However, it was with her version of William Tell that her aspirations toward the condition of music are most prevalent. She wrote of the need to "seize the harmony of the shapes, the lines, the reliefs, as the musician does with the flats, the sharps, the major and minor tones," suggesting that she had the elements of music in mind while working on this sculpture.⁵⁹

PAULINE VIARDOT

It is difficult to assess the importance of the music-related portrait sculptures that Marcello produced because many of them are now lost. This is particularly true of the portraits, which Marcello either sold or presented to their sitters as gifts. There is little visual



Fig. 4-18. Heinrich Max Imhof. *Monument to William Tell*. 1867. Terra cotta. Historisches Museum Uri, Altdorf, Switzerland.

58. According to Henriette Bessis, Marcello kept a "Press Book" that contained a clipping which stated that "Marcello travaille maintenant à une statue colossale de Guillaume Tell, dont elle se propose de faire hommage à la ville d'Aldorf." See Bessis, 81. Unfortunately, this "Press Book" could not be located at the Archives FM, and the president of the Fondation Marcello could not verify its existence for me during my visit. In 2004, I created the only "Press-Books" that currently exist at the Fondation Marcello; I organized all of the original press clippings at the Fondation, chronologically and into archival binders.

59. Adèle Colonna (Marcello), personal diary (known as the *Carnet Intimes*), 1 November 1862, Archives FM. (See footnote number 27 for the original French text for this quotation.)



Fig. 4-19. Richard Kissling. *Monument to William Tell and His Son*. 1895. Bronze. Rathausplatz, Altdorf (Canton of Uri), Switzerland. Photograph by the author.

record of these pieces (Marcello did not have photographs taken of all of her works), and today the only evidence scholars have that these sculptures in fact were made at all is found in her writing and correspondence. She did, however, obtain photographs of her sitters so that she could work on individual pieces without requiring the sitters to pose for long sessions, as may have been the case with her *Marguerite*. Despite the lack of visual documentation of these pieces, they are nevertheless worthy of consideration.

One of Marcello's earliest sculptures of a musical personality was the portrait of Pauline Viardot (fig. 4-20), now untraced. The daughter of Manuel del Popolo Vicente Garcia, a well-known singer and minor composer, Pauline Viardot was a mezzo-soprano married to Louis Viardot, author, Spanish art specialist, art critic for *Gazette des beaux-arts*, and director of the Théâtre-italien.⁶⁰ Viardot's older sister, Maria Mailbran (1808-1836), was also an accomplished *cantatrice*. Viardot's major performances included roles in many of Rossini's operas such as *Il Barbiere de Siviglia* (performed in Paris at the Théâtre-italien), *La Donna del Lago* (Théâtre-italien), and *Othello* (in London). She also created the role of Sappho for Gounod's first opera of the same title, his first operatic endeavor. It was, moreover, through her influence and efforts that Gounod found for the work a librettist and a theater. His *Sappho* premiered on 16 April 1851 at the old Paris Opéra on the rue le Peletier. The Viardots hosted an enormously popular salon in Paris at which Marcello was in regular attendance, alongside such luminaries as Eugène Delacroix, George Sand (1804-1876), and Frederic Chopin (1810-1849). It was here that Marcello made the acquaintance of many other important musical personalities whose faces and works would provide her with ideas for many of her future sculptures.

Both Miolan-Carvalho and Pauline Viardot were the type of strong women that most interested Marcello as subjects for her works. Miolan-Carvalho and Viardot also had many things in common: they were both celebrities, married the directors of the theatres where they headlined, performed at the popular Théâtre-lyrique, and were connected professionally with Gounod. Although Viardot is usually credited with establishing Gounod's career by her performance in *Sappho*, it was Miolan-Carvalho who helped solidify the composer's reputation with her interpretations of the lead female characters in his more successful operas: *Faust* (1859), *Philémon et Baucis* (1860), *La Colombe* (1860), *Mireille* (1864), and *Roméo and Juliette* (1867). In addition, both Miolan-Carvalho and Viardot also had a reputation for controlling (or trying to control) the direc-

60. For Pauline Viardot's milieu, see Fitzlyon, *The Price of Genius*, 88-91. For information regarding the professional relationship between Gounod and Viardot, see Thérèse Marix-Spire, "Gounod and His First Interpreter, Pauline Viardot [Parts I and II]," *The Musical Quarterly* 31:2-3 (April-July 1945), 193-211, 299-317. For Louis Viardot's interest in Spanish art, see Gary Tinterow and Geneviève Lacambre, et al., *Manet/Velázquez: The French Taste for Spanish Painting*, exh. cat. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press/Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2003), 33-34. See also Suzanne Desternes and Henriette Chandet, *La Mailbran et Pauline Viardot* (Paris: Fayard, 1969).

tion of the opera in which they starred, often refusing to sing certain roles and having the arias of other singers cut if they outshone their own. Their power, on and off the stage, was well known within intellectual circles.

Although very little is known about the portrait of Viardot, Marcello appears to have produced it in 1865, around the time of her *La Gorgone*. It seems to have been made as a gift or offering to Madame Revirard, Viardot's student, whom Marcello met in Aix-les-Bains. In common with the sculpture of the Gorgon, the portrait of Viardot was based on a character from an opera by Lully; it has been suggested that the work was an image of the mezzo-soprano in the role of Alceste.⁶¹

CHARLES-FRANÇOIS GOUNOD

Although much has already been said regarding Gounod (fig. 4-21), it should be mentioned that Marcello had sculpted his portrait in the late 1860s when the two were residing in Rome. As with most of Marcello's sculpted portraits, this one has not been located. Moreover, a document written in Marcello's hand at the Fondation Marcello refers to the presence of the bust of Gounod as being located in a carton in her studio, yet this work has not been found there to date.

Marcello spent a large amount of time at the French Academy in Rome, housed in the Villa Medici, and dined often with Gounod and their mutual friend, the painter Ernest Hébert (1817-1908). In a letter dated 25 January 1869, Marcello wrote that it was Gounod's spirituality that truly impressed her: "Gounod and Hébert are my good friends, all the genius of Gounod does not inspire passion in me, he is so mystical."⁶² Earlier in his life Gounod had considered taking vows for the priesthood and although he ultimately did not do so, his *œuvre* includes numerous religious pieces, hymns, and chamber music for the church.

It was four years later when Carpeaux completed his bust of the composer (fig. 4-22). Here again we have an instance where Carpeaux has produced a sculpture after Marcello had worked on the same or similar subject. Sculpted in London where Gounod was living in the early 1870s, the bust depicts Gounod loosely dressed, armless, with a gallant turn of the head. The heavy brow and bagginess under the eyes gives a sense of contemplation and depth to the expression. Unfortunately, as Marcello's bust of the composer is not extant, the level of dependency that Carpeaux's bust owed to her own



Fig. 4-20. Ary Scheffer, *Portrait of Pauline Viardot*. From Steven Huebner, *The Operas of Charles Gounod* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990).

61. This is according to Bessis, 78, but she does not cite her source. Given Marcello's interest in the operas of Lully, it is possible that the portrait of Viardot showed her as Alceste.

62. Adèle Colonna (Marcello) to her mother, Comtesse Lucie Maillardo d'Affry, 25 January 1869, Archives FM. "Gounod et Hébert sont mes bons amis, tout le génie de Gounod ne m'inspire pas de passion, il est si mystique."



Fig. 4-21.
L. Suscipi. *Charles-François Gounod*.
1869. Photograph. Fondation Marcello,
Fribourg.



Fig. 4-22.
Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux. *Charles Gounod*. 1873. Terra
cotta.
Musée des Beaux-Arts, Valenciennes, France.
Photo: Réunion des Musées Nationaux / Art Resource,
NY.

cannot be argued.

FRANZ LISZT

While working on the bust of Gounod at the Villa Medici in 1869, Marcello also produced a statuette of the composer Franz Liszt, who had been living in Rome since 1861. Around this time Marcello also produced a statuette of Liszt's companion, the Princess Carolyne von Sayn-Wittgenstein, but the work is now lost. Although it cannot be proven without further investigation, it is possible that the two statuette were meant as companion pieces.

Liszt was, like Marcello and her circle, continually interested in Romantic subjects and themes. He was the first composer to use the term "symphonic poem," and created two orchestral works based on the writings of Dante and Goethe, the *Dante Symphonie* of 1856 and *Eine Faust-Symphonie* of 1857. Both Liszt and Marcello were similarly interested in what would become Symbolist subjects and themes, and their production had a similar interdisciplinary nature. She often wrote to her mother about her life in Rome in the late 1860s, mentioning that she had dined with Gounod, Hébert and, on more than one occasion, with Liszt.

Marcello depicted the fifty-eight year old Liszt in a relaxed pose, with his arms and legs crossed, and with a smiling yet thoughtful expression on his face. The extant plaster, presently located at the Fondation Marcello (fig. 4-23), is well modeled and offers wonderful evidence of the artist's facture, particularly in the base and the object on which the figure sits. Marcello's correspondence reveals that Liszt's companion, the Princess Wittgenstein, approved of the sculpture of the composer. On 30 October 1869, she wrote to her mother that "Princess Wittgenstein, good friend of Liszt, is so pleased with the statuette that I made of him, that she gave me a very nice hat as a gift."⁶³

Although the body of correspondence between Marcello and Liszt is significantly smaller than that between her and Gounod, it is obvious that they had a similar and mutual respect for each other's work. Liszt seems to have been an important contact when Marcello exhibited three works (*Ananké*, *Bianca Capello*, and *La Gorgone*) at the Munich International Exhibition of Fine Arts, which ran from July to October 1869. Marcello forwarded two important letters from Liszt to her mother, asking her to conserve them carefully.⁶⁴ The first, which Liszt wrote from Rome in September of 1869,



Fig. 4-23. Marcello. *Portrait of Franz Liszt*. 1869. Plaster. Fondation Marcello, Fribourg [S 8].

63. Adèle Colonna (Marcello) to Comtesse d'Affry (her mother), letter dated 30 October 1869, Archives FM. "La princesse Wittgenstein, bonne amie de Liszt, est si contente de la statuette que j'ai faite [de Liszt] qu'elle m'a donné un très joli chapeau."

describes the placement and early reception of Marcello's sculptures in Munich:

I have just, very late, fulfilled a promise that you have made to me, Madame Duchess. Please allow me some time like a worker and a correspondent with the latest news. You have already been told that your works were extremely admired at the exposition in Munich; in reporting this simple and natural fact I add that many artistic notables have been surprised to learn what gracious and radiant personality was hiding behind the pseudonym of Marcello. Kaulbach, Ramberg, Kalkreuth, etc., could not believe that such masterpieces did not come from the villainous masculine sex. The Gorgone and the Bianca Capello are perfectly placed, very visible in the large gallery.⁶⁵

At a later date in the same year, Liszt sent a second letter from the Villa d'Este, in which he translated a German critique of Marcello's work:

I assume that you have already received good news directly from the secretary of the Munich exhibition. Mr. Zumbach gave your letter to him right away but in his he neglects to inform me of the final result. However, I am sending you attached the original of Mr. Zumbach, and to facilitate your reading allow me to translate the sculptural passage as best as I can: 'My admiration for Marcello is very great....From my first visit to the exhibition her works had struck me by their monumental conception ('auffassung'). It is what distinguishes them in superiority from the bulk of productions of genre and from the fashionable pieces, modern and weak, which dominated almost everywhere your exhibition of the plastic arts. When later on I learned that a great woman of the aristocracy was the author of the Gorgon, I frankly admit that some resistance to my first impression came over me, but gathering all my critical faculties I vigorously examined these same busts, which, in the end, won the most complete triumph.'⁶⁶

Although they did not have a prolonged correspondence with each other, surely Liszt and Marcello had much in common and enjoyed a good professional friendship. His generosity in keeping her abreast of the reception of her works in Germany reveals his respect for her as a fellow artist. She returned that respect in kind, through her sensitive portrait of the composer.

Although the study of music's connections to the visual arts continues to be explored,

64. Marcello sent the 12 September 1869 letter from Liszt on 22 September 1869, and included a note with it, stating "Voici une lettre de Litz [sic] conservez la précieusement."

65. Franz Liszt to Adèle Colonna (Marcello), from Rome, dated 12 September 1869, Archives FM. "Je viens bien tard remplir une promesse que vous m'avez promise, Madame la Duchesse. Daignez m'indulger comme un ouvrier et un correspondant de la dernière heure. On vous a déjà dit que vos œuvres étaient fort admirées à l'exposition de Munich; en constatant ce fait simple et naturel j'ajoute que maintes notabilités artistiques ont été surprises d'apprendre quelle gracieuse et rayonnante personnalité se cachait sous le pseudonyme de Marcello. Kaulbach, Ramberg, Kalkreuth, etc., ne pouvaient croire que de telles œuvres de maître, ne provenaient pas du vilain sexe masculin. La Gorgone et la Bianca Capello sont parfaitement placées, très en vue dans la première grand[e] salle."

66. Franz Liszt to Adèle Colonna (Marcello), from Villa d'Este, dated 9 November 1869, Archives FM. "Je suppose que vous avez déjà reçu directement de M. le secrétaire d'exposition de Munich des nouvelles satisfaisantes. M. Zumbach lui a remis de suite votre lettre, mais dans la sienne il néglige de m'informer du résultat définitif. Cependant je vous envoie ci-après l'autographe d'Zumbach, et pour vous en faciliter la lecture permettez-moi de traduire tant bien que mal le passage sculptural: 'Mon admiration pour Marcello est très grande. Dès ma première visite à l'exposition ses ouvrages m'avaient frappé par leur conception ('auffassung') monumentale. C'est ce qui les distingue supérieurement de la masse des productions de genre et d'articles de mode, modernes et amollis, qui dominaient presque partout votre exposition plastique. Quand plus tard j'appris qu'une grande dame du beau monde était l'auteur de la Gorgone, j'avoue franchement qu'un peu de défiance de ma première impression me gagna et ramassant toutes mes facultés critiques examinai vigoureusement ces mêmes bustes mais ceux-ci ont remporté le plus complet triomphe'" Zumbach seems to have been a curator at a museum in Munich.

clearly the aural medium greatly inspired visual artists, and its effect on Marcello was exceptionally strong. Evident in everything from her sculptural production to her choice of pseudonym, Marcello's greatest inspiration derived from operas, arias, and music professionals of her time. Of the approximately sixty known sculptural concepts that Marcello created during her career, almost one-third were inspired by music or musicians.

She also viewed operas with an almost exclusive interest in the female protagonists. Instead of sculpting busts of Faust or Mephistopheles, she focused on Marguerite; instead of Figaro or Bartolo, she emphasized Rosina; instead of Perseus, the Gorgon is immortalized in her work. Marcello made these female characters centrally important figures, regardless of whether they held such a position in the original opera or textual source.

Marcello's profound respect and admiration for music is also evident in her writing and correspondence. In addition, she frequently attended musical performances, sketchbook in hand, and imported ideas for sculptures from the loge to her studio. Her polysensoriality, or the way in which she combined the tactile facture of her original sketches, her visual and aural experiences, and the influence of texts and sounds in her works, is overwhelmingly evident in her *œuvre*. Thus, the art historical assumption that only later artists exhibit polysensoriality in their work is a fallacy. It is therefore impossible to understand Marcello's *œuvre* without a discussion of the important role that music and musicians played in her career and in her personal life.

Finally, among the acquaintances she made in Rome were a number of important musicians and composers who inspired her work and became part of her intimate circle. The respect between artists and composers was often mutual; visual artists, performers, and composers frequented the same circles and inspired each other's works. The texts cited in this chapter written by Gounod, Liszt, and Rossini, can be taken as examples of this; similarly, the composer Camille Saint-Saëns's *Marche héroïque*, written in honor of the painter Henri Regnault after his death at Buzenval, is another such instance of mutual respect and exchange with regard to artists in Marcello's circle.

Some aspects of Marcello's *œuvre* seemingly related to music have been omitted from this chapter because their discussion appeared to be more appropriate elsewhere in this study or because there was not sufficient evidence that other works based on operas or composers exist or had once existed. Marcello's *Pythia*, treated in the previ-

ous chapter, may have been based on a character from Lully's 1675 opera *Thésée*, and was purchased for the grand foyer of the Opéra Garnier, but its connections to music cannot be as sufficiently established as those analyzed here. Surprisingly, Charles Bizet's *Carmen*, the 1875 opera based on the novel by Marcello's close friend Prosper Mérimée, did not inspire any known works by the sculptor. She was quite ill by the time of the *Carmen*'s premiere and had, for all intents and purposes, retired from making sculpture because of the physical strength it demanded. Music was one of Marcello's many lifelong passions; further investigation may still yield additional connections between Marcello's work and music, opera, composers, and singers.

CONCLUSION

Who was Marcello? What were her contributions to the history of art? If she has been so important to that history, why have art historians largely ignored her for more than 125 years?

For more than a decade I have pondered these questions in an attempt to re-present Marcello to the art historical community. Obviously she was a sculptor, painter, and draftsperson who developed a unique style and various avant-garde themes in her sculptural work, and who was forgotten primarily because she lived and worked in several different countries, died young, and because documents concerning her life and career are not easily accessible to scholars. These answers, however, are overly simplified: to truly understand Marcello's significance, one must be fully aware of the cultural, historical and social contexts from which both she and her works emerged.

For most of the twentieth century, art historians ignored the large contributions of women artists to all aspects of culture. Feminist ideology within the field, beginning in the 1970s, began to change the misogynist stance in which the discipline was rooted; by the late 1990s, however, feminist methodology had become repetitive. Most feminist art historians felt that they had already discussed all the women worthy of attention, and other art historians were probably glad that they had stopped talking. The result of this returned the field to its original precept: if an artist is not studied, written about, sold at auction or taught in the classroom, then it is safe to assume that s/he did not exist or was not important. It was in part because of this incorrect assumption that I hoped to write about an important but underappreciated female artist.

In the case of Marcello, her expatriate status was also a major factor contributing to her being written out of art history. Such is the fate of many expatriate artists, because it is difficult for scholars to do research on a person who traveled and lived in a country, or countries, other than the one in which they were born. Marcello addi-

tionally had three names, each associated with a different country. Her birthname, Adèle d'Affry, was identified with the historically important Swiss family of Affry; her married name, Duchess Castiglione Colonna, was connected to the significant Colonna family of Rome; and her pseudonym, Marcello, also identified her as Italian. Yet she lived for almost two decades in France, without a French name to align her with that country. There is often an additional bias against artists who do not exhibit complete allegiance to their homeland. As a result, not one of the countries in which Marcello lived ever really championed her proudly as one of their own. Finally, her Swiss nationality specifically posed an obstacle; the history of Swiss art has rarely been incorporated into the art historical canon, mainly because most Swiss artists before the twentieth century left Switzerland to pursue their studies and careers elsewhere.

Another main reason that Marcello has been neglected relates directly to the lack of attention paid to the history of sculpture by art historians. Whether scholars are aware of it or not, the commercial, critical and technical history of sculpture has not yet been fully integrated into the canon. This is especially true of sculpture of the Second Empire, which is difficult to categorize into neat, obvious types and styles. Sculpture followed a rhythm different from that of painting, and within sculpture the progression of styles is less apparent. Hence the term "eclecticism," which one notices often in discussions of the sculptures of the period. Because sculpture production was, and remains, identified with art that was sanctioned by the Academy, modern biases against academic art have limited its study.

As I have shown, sculpture production during the nineteenth century in both the artistic and technical sense was undoubtedly "gendered" as a field in which men were the foremost participants. Women like Marcello who dared to challenge this norm found themselves open to ridicule and rejection. Yet Marcello spent the length of her career creating a body of works that critics often likened to those of the best male contemporary sculptors. This was not an easy task to have accomplished, and yet, regardless of her many successes, she often felt discriminated against because of her gender, a subject on which she lamented in the final pages of her memoirs, written three days before her death.

The modernist canon of art history, with its neatly packaged styles and movements, is in need of a serious revision. Until the origins of Symbolism are reevaluated,

the true story of the art of this period and its inherent contradictions cannot be realized. Marcello's Symbolist tendencies should not, therefore, be dismissed simply on the basis that she was active twenty years before the style was identified. She, like Baudelaire, was a predecessor of the Symbolist movement. The strict chronological organization of styles and art movements over a period of time is helpful for the basic study of art, but outside of that preliminary point of departure, such constructions hinder more advanced thought in the field.

These two negations, that of the history of women in the fine arts and that of the history of sculpture, has led to the fractured nature of the annals of art history. This book, however, was not intended to continue Marcello's lament, but instead was written to ground her sculptural work within the history of art, in light of the contexts within which it was produced. Although the problems that all women artists faced during the period have been addressed and interlaced within this text, I have tried to present an overall analysis of Marcello's work with less emphasis on her gender and a more sharpened focus on her contributions to the field and to the artistic milieu in which she lived and worked.

FUTURE AVENUES OF RESEARCH

While this book focuses mostly on Marcello's career in France, her reception in England, Germany and Spain has been briefly treated. Yet, despite her having spent many years of her life in Italy and having held an Italian aristocratic title, little has been unearthed concerning Marcello's reception in that country. Although it seems that she did not exhibit her work in Italy (she may not have had many opportunities to do so), her painted self-portrait (fig. C-1) was commissioned from the Uffizi Gallery in Florence during her lifetime. She retained a studio in Rome for most of her career, and was often a guest at the French Academy in Rome of directors such as Victor Schnetz and Ernest Hébert. It seems highly unlikely that her existence in Italy could go completely unremarked upon by anyone except herself in her own writings, particularly since there were so many women (both Europeans and Americans) working in Rome at the same time. The subject of Marcello's lifelong devotion to Michelangelo (and to the sculpture and history of the Italian Renaissance) could warrant a significant study within itself. Such an undertaking would require immersion in the primary Italian journals and art reviews between the years of 1854, when she first arrived in Italy, through her death in 1879, preferably by a scholar fluent in Italian. Her sculpture entitled *La Belle*

Romaine was depicted as an engraving in *L'Illustrazione Italiana* (published in Milan and Rome) in 1875. Her work was also discussed in an article in *Gazetta di Venezia* (published in Venice) in 1876. As her death was reported in *Corriere del Mattino* (published in Naples) and *Fanfulla* (published in Rome) it is not unreasonable to assume that Marcello was a known figure in Italy and that her works may have garnered extensive reviews during her lifetime by the Italian press.

Marcello had also been written about in the equivalent of “gossip” or “style” sections of American newspapers, for example in the *Boston Post* and the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*. While Marcello was always preoccupied with her artwork, she was also willing to do her part for charity, fulfilling her aristocratic duties as the Duchess Colonna. The 1 March 1867 issue of the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* recounts an event at a bazaar in Paris, held for the aid of Polish refugees by Colonna’s friends, the Czartoryski family. There she kept a stall where she offered some of her works to be sold for the cause. When a wealthy Russian gentleman slipped her a note containing the words “I should like to be permitted to kiss the hand of Marcello,” she replied that she would pass on the message: “I will convey your message to Marcello, count; but I must warn you, from what I know of that personage, that if the favor be granted you will have to buy it very dear.” She asked him to come back in ten minutes; when he did, she presented him with a letter noting, “Marcello consents, on the condition that M. le Comte R---- pays down five hundred francs for the destitute Poles.”¹ Stories such as these often surfaced in the American press, particularly when a charitable or social event was at issue.

Although Marcello never traveled to the United States, her work was being sold in New York as early as the winter that followed her death. A.T. Stewart and Company’s famous department store, located at Broadway and Fourth Avenue between Ninth and Tenth Streets, ran a large advertisement in the 14 December 1879 issue of the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* offering “a superb collection of artistic bronzes by Guillot, Laurent, Marcello, Herpiche, Etc. Also, ancient and Modern.” Stewart himself owned two Marcello bronzes, versions of *Chef Abyssin and Medje*, which he displayed prominently in the music room of his mansion on Fifth Avenue (see Chapter Four). The pair was offered at the A.T. Stewart collection sale held at American Art Galleries on Twenty-Third Street on 31 March 1887, along with their matching Egyptian marble and gilt pedestals; it is not currently known if they sold, who might have purchased them, or where they are currently located.² It is also not clear whether Marcello even

1. “Five Hundred Francs for a Kiss,” *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* (1 March 1867): 4.

2. *Sale Catalogue of the A.T. Stewart Collection of Paintings, Sculpture, and other Objects of Art*, American Art Association, Managers, Thomas E. Kirby, Auctioneer. (New York 1887), 170. “[Lot #] 853, Pair of life Size Busts, “Arab Sheik,” and companion, by Marcello. Height and diameter, 27 by 18 inches. 2 Pieces. [Lot #] 854, Pair pedestals, for the above, carved Egyptian marble, with green bronze and gold gilt ornaments. Height 43 inches. 2 pieces.”s

knew that Stewart had purchased the sculptures, or that he was planning to sell her work in his shop.

It is unclear why Marcello never traveled to America, where her work may have found an eager market. Yet the Civil War would have prevented her from traveling to the United States in the mid-1860s, and in the early 1870s, uncertainty in France in the wake of the Franco-Prussian War and the establishment of the Third Republic prevented her from traveling much outside her native Switzerland. By the mid 1870s, she was too ill to travel long distances, and remained in Italy for the rehabilitative effects of the Mediterranean climate.

American museums are only just beginning to collect works by Marcello. At this writing, only two American museums hold works by the artist: the Philadelphia Museum of Art, which purchased *Pythia* in 1973, and the Dahesh Museum of Art, which purchased *Abyssinian Chieftain* in 1998. Although little has been uncovered in terms of Marcello's impact on the United States, further investigation may yield clues regarding possible nineteenth- and twentieth-century American collectors of her work, previously unknown sculptures and paintings in American collections, and the reception of Marcello's art in the United States during her lifetime and after her death.

Much still needs to be done within the study of Marcello's work; there is no reason to believe that this text covers (or could cover) every aspect of Marcello's sculptural production. It is my hope that this text will not only illuminate the many issues discussed, but that it will foster new interest in Marcello's art. Such endeavors and further study will broaden equally our understanding of women's role in the history of art and the history of the sculptural medium.

This book has attempted to describe the history of nineteenth-century sculpture while at the same time exploring the career of a significant artist and her contributions to that history. Marcello earned, during her lifetime, the attention and respect of critics and peers; it is important that now, in our own time, she receive the attention and respect she so rightfully deserves.



Fig. C-1. Marcello. *Self-Portrait*. Undated. Oil on canvas. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.

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INDEX

A

The Abyssinian Chieftain (Marcello), 3, 49, 150 fig. 3-41, 151, 162, 164 figs. 3-51 and 53, 166 fig. 3-52, 178 fig. 4-1a, 180 fig. 4-1b, 181, 220-221
 Act of Mediation, 19, 22n22, 23
 Admetus, 189n19
 Adriani, 91
 Aeneid (Virgil), 158
 Aeschylus, 158
 Affry, Adelaide-Nathalie-Marie-Hedwige-Philippine d' see Marcello
 Affry, Adèle d' see Marcello
 Affry, Adèle d' (Marcello's great-grandmother), 19
 Affry, Cécile-Marie-Philippine d' (Marcello's sister, later Baroness d'Ottenfels), 26 fig. 1-14, 27, 48, 135, 137
 Affry, Charles Philippe d', 22 fig. 1-11, 25
 Affry, François Louis d', 19
 Affry, François Pierre Joseph d', 20 fig. 1-8, 21
 Affry, Guillaume d', 27
 Affry, Hélène d', 17
 Affry, Louis-Auguste-Augustin d', 20 fig. 1-9, 21, 119
 Affry, Louis Auguste-Philippe d' (The Landamman), 19, 22 fig. 1-10, 23
 Affry, Louis d', 19
 Affry, Louis-François-Romain-Charles d' (Marcello's father), 16 fig. 1-2, 24 figs. 1-12 and 13, 25, 27
 Affry, Lucie d' (Marcello's mother), 16 fig. 1-3, 29, 57, 57 fig. 2-2, 58 fig. 2-3, 60
 Affry, Pierre d', 17
 Aïscha-Tchama, 155, 155n113
 Alcantara, Odette d', 5, 30, 46
 Alceste, 189n19
 Allori, Alessandro, 105 fig. 3-6, 107, 107n25
 Ambrogio, Campi, 44
 Ananké (Marcello), 3, 132 fig. 3-25, 133-135, 137, 171
 Andrieu, Pierre, 36
 androgyny, 3, 95, 148, 175
 Apraxine, Pierre, 111
 "Art and Property" (Wagner), 60-61
 Artemis, 137
 A.T. Stewart and Company, 220
 Auvergne, D.-G. d', 75
 Avery, Charles, 133n77

B

Bacchante (Clésinger), 147
 Bacchante (Marcello), 44
 Bacchiacca (Francesco d'Ubertini). see Ubertini, Francesco d'

La Bacchante Fatiguée (Marcello), 143-149, 144 fig. 3-36, 148 fig. 3-37
 Bacchus (Michelangelo), 147-148, 149 fig. 3-38
 Balzac, Honoré de, 104n15
 Bapst, Jean-Baptiste, 20 fig. 1-8
 Barbédienne, Ferdinand, 41, 67, 115, 189
 Barbier, Jules, 179 fig. 4-2
 Il Barbieri de Siviglia (Rossini), 179, 181n4, 203-204
 Beaumarchais, Pierre-Augustin Caron de, 203
 La Belle Hélène (Marcello), 39, 40 fig. 1-22, 41, 43
 La Belle Romaine (Marcello), 91, 149, 219-220
 Bellérophon (Lully), 189
 Bérénice (Marcello), 44
 Berlioz, Hector, 193
 Bernard, Victor, 89, 90 fig. 2-23
 Berthier, Jean-Jacques, 47, 79, 81
 Bertraux, Madame Léon (Hélène), 35
 Bessis, Henriette, 5, 207
 Beurdeley, Alfred, 115
 Bianca Capello (Marcello), 3, 3n3, 13, 48-49, 98 figs. 3-2 and 3, 102, 107-119, 108 fig. 3-9, 116 figs. 3-14 through 16, 134, 171, 181, 186
 Bianca Capello (Randegger), 109, 181n4
 Bizet, Charles, 216
 Blagny, Ernest. see Carpeaux, Jean-Baptiste
 Block, Mademoiselle, 196 fig. 4-9
 Boccard, Elisa de, 4, 59 fig. 2-5, 60 fig. 2-6
 Böcklin, Arnold, 95
 Bonheur, Rosa, 12
 Bosch I Mauri, Llorenç Milans del, 77-81, 79 fig. 2-21
 breasts, treatment of, 134n80
 Brontë sisters, 46
 Bronzino, Agnolo, 107
 Bürger, William, 131
 Bust of General Milans del Bosch (Marcello), 77-81, 80 fig. 2-23, 81 fig. 2-24
 Bust of the Duchess of San Cesario (Marcello), 205
 Bust of the Empress Eugénie (Marcello), 3, 61-73, 62 fig. 2-8, 64 figs. 2-9 and 10, 66 figs. 2-11 and 12, 70 fig. 2-13

C

cadaver studies, 39
 Callias, Hector de, 113
 Campbell, Joseph, 99
 Canova, Antonio, 127, 127 fig. 3-20
 Cantaloube, Amédée, 1, 13
 Capello, Bianca, 102-107, 104n15
 Carmen (Bizet), 216
 Carpeaux, Jean-Baptiste
 government commissions, 60-61
 and Marcello, 36, 39

and Marcello's Pythia, 159
 portrait of, by Marcello, 85, 87-91, 88 fig. 2-32, 93
 pseudonym, use of, 45
 works
 bust of the Empress Eugénie, 69, 71
 Figaro, 206 fig. 4-16, 207
 La Danse, 167, 171
 Marcello Modeling Clay and Study of a Male Back, 54
 Portrait of Charles François Gounod, 212 fig. 4-22
 Portrait of the Countess Lucie d'Affry, 57, 57 fig. 2-2
 Portrait of the Duchess Castiglione Colonna, 86 figs. 2-30 and 31
 Ugolino and His Sons, 200
 Carpeaux malade (Bernard), 89, 90 fig. 2-33
 Carrier-Belleuse, Albert-Ernest, 111
 Carvaggio, 127, 128 fig. 3-21
 Caryatid project, 150 fig. 3-42, 154 figs. 3-44 and 45
 Castiglione-Colonna, Adèle d'Affry, duchess de. see Marcello
 Cazalis, Henri, 153
 Chabon, L., 116 fig. 3-15
 Cham, 160, 160 fig. 3-50, 162, 167, 170 fig. 3-57
 Cham au Salon de 1870 (Cham), 160 fig. 3-50
 Chapus, Eugène, 194
 Charles François Gounod (Suscipi), 212 fig. 4-21
 Château d'Affry, 19
 Châtelaine Bianca Capello (Fouquet), 106 fig. 3-8, 107
 Chesneau, Ernest, 113, 145-146
 Chevreul, Michel-Eugène, 27, 27n32
 Chopin, Frederic, 210
 Chronos, 134
 Church (L'Église) of Saint Laurent, 16 fig. 1-5, 18 fig. 1-6, 19
 Church of Trinità del Monte, 31 fig. 1-18
 Cimabue, 96-97
 Circourt, Comte de, 207
 Cixous, Hélène, 128
 Clairin, Georges, 49, 76-77, 79, 151
 Claudel, Camille, 95, 123
 Clément-Carpeaux, Louise, 155, 157
 Cleopatra (Michelangelo), 130 fig. 3-22, 131
 Clésinger, Jean-Baptiste (Auguste), 36, 39, 40 fig. 1-23, 147
 coat of arms, 18 figs. 1-7a and b
 Colonna, Adèle. see Marcello
 Colonna, Carlo, 4, 28 fig. 1-17, 30, 31, 33, 34 fig. 1-20
 Colonna, Vittoria, 30
 commissions, 56, 60-61, 63, 65, 137
 Commodus as Hercules (unknown), 127
 Concerning the Spiritual in Art (Kandinsky), 182
 copié d'après Raphael (Marcello), 44
 Cornelia M. Stewart House, 178 fig. 4-1a, 181, 220

Cornelius, Peter von, 29
Countess Lucie d'Affry (Ferret), 16 fig. 1-3
Count Simeon, 127
Courbet, Gustave, 6-7
Court, L.B.Q., 116 fig. 3-15
Cousin, Victor, 189

D

Daguerre, Louis-Jacques Mandé, 55
La Damnation de Faust (Berlioz), 193
La Danse (Carpeaux), 167, 171
Dante Alighieri, 185, 199-200
David, Jacques-Louis, 121
Davrie, Aleyson, 17
Death of Carpeaux (Maignan), 89
decadence, 3, 95, 159, 175, 185
Delacroix, Eugène, 35-36, 44, 191, 210
Delphi, oracle of, 157-158, 158n119
Deraismes, Maria, 81
Diana (Diana Sleeping) (Marcello), 3, 42 fig. 1-24, 43-44, 43n67
Diana (Goddess), 43, 137
Diana (or Dina) (Marcello), 42 fig. 1-25, 44
Diesbach, Ghislain de, 5, 27
Diesbach, Hélène de, 5, 47
Diesbach, Max de, 25
Diesbach-Beleroch, Ladislav de, 30
Diesbach-Steinbrugg, Marie-Anne, 23
Dietler, Friedrich, 14 fig. 1-4, 16 fig. 1-2, 26 fig. 1-14, 28 fig. 1-17
Dietrich, Joseph-Auguste, 29
Dijkstra, Bram, 95
Disdéri, Andre-Adolphe-Eugène, 83 fig. 2-27
Disraëli, Benjamin, 95
La Double Vie do Duchesse Colonna (Diesbach), 5
Drawing after Michelangelo's Cleopatra (Marcello), 130 fig. 3-23, 131
Drawing after Michelangelo's Portrait of Lorenzo de' Medici (Marcello), 137 fig. 3-28
Drawing after Michelangelo's Sistine Chapel Ceiling, detail of the prophet Jeremiah (Marcello), 139 fig. 3-30
Drawing for La Bacchante Fatiguée (Marcello), 148 fig. 3-37
Drawing for Hecate and Cerberus (Marcello), 142 fig. 3-34
Drawing for the bust of Bianca Capello (Marcello), 98 fig. 3-3
dressing as a man, 39, 39n59
La Duchesse Colonna de Castiglione (Dumonz), 12 fig. 1-3
Dumesnil, Georges, 113

Dumonz, L., 12 fig. 1-3
Dunnell, E. G., 106 fig. 3-7, 107
Dupin, Aurora. see Sand, George
Duranty, Edmund, 55

E

Ecce Homo (Marcello), 89, 91, 92 fig. 2-34
eclecticism, 218
École des beaux-arts, 37-39
Eine Faust-Symphonie (Liszt), 193
Eliot, George, 46
Elisabeth, Empress of Austria, at her Coronation (Marcello), 73 fig. 2-15
Elisabeth, Empress of Austria and Queen of Hungary (Rabending and Monckhoven), 72 fig. 2-14
Elisabeth, Empress of Austria (Marcello), 73-76, 74 figs. 2-17 and 18
Elopement of Bianca Capello (Dunnell), 106 fig. 3-7, 107
Empress Eugénie of France (Le Jeune), 62 fig. 2-7
Enfant courant (Marcello), 44
Eugénie (Empress)
La Belle Hélène, 41
and Rosa Bonheur, 12
sculpture of by Marcello, 3, 10, 61-73, 63 fig. 2-8, 64 figs. 2-9 and 10, 66 figs. 2-11 and 12, 70 fig. 2-13, 119
Eumenides (Aeschylus), 158
Euripides, 158
Evans, Mary Anne (George Eliot), 46
exhibitions
and Ananké, 134
and Bianca Capello, 117, 134
and Bust of the Empress Eugénie, 71
see also Exposition universelle (1867); Paris Salon
exhibitions
Exposition universelle (1867), 134, 171, 172 fig. 3-58, 174 fig. 3-59, 176 fig. 3-60, 194
expressivity, 123
eyeball styles, 33, 194

F

Faust (Goethe), 189
Faust (Gounod), 179, 181n4, 189-199, 192 fig. 4-6, 196 fig. 4-8
The Feischli Conspiracy (Marcello), 81
femme fatale, 3, 101, 103, 117-118, 155, 159, 185
La Femme transvénérine (Marcello), 171
Ferret (photographer), 16 fig. 1-3
Ferreiros, Cristina, 4
Figaro (Carpeaux), 206 fig. 4-16, 207
Fillonneau, Ernest
on La Bacchante Fatiguée, 145-146

on Bianca Capello, 114
on Bust of the Empress Eugénie, 65
on Marcello's death, 50-51
on Marie Antoinette busts, 123, 125
on Pythia, 161, 163
Le Flâneur (critic), 173, 194
Forget, Joséphine de, 36, 44
Fortuny, Mariano, 36, 49, 155
Fouquet, Alphonse, 106 fig. 3-8, 107
Franzoni, Francesco, 71
Frederickson, Kristen, 37
Frémy, Louis, 69
Fricero, Joseph, 29

G

Garnier, Charles, 159, 165
Gautier, Theophile, 111, 123, 131
G.E. (critic), 173
gender-biased obstacles, 12, 45-47, 61, 218
see also women
Gerdt, William, 128
Giotto di Bondone, 96-97
Girardin, Émile de, 135
Givisiez, 19, 30, 37
Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von, 185, 189
Goffen, Rona, 148
Goldwater, Robert, 186
La Gorgone (Marcello), 3, 124 fig. 3-19, 126-133, 130 fig. 3-24, 171, 181, 186-189
Goujon, 162
Gounod, Charles-François
friendship with Marcello, 151, 179, 197, 199
portrait of, by Marcello, 211-213
and Symbolism, 184-185
and Viardot, 195n36
works
Faust, 181n4
Medjé: Chanson Arabe, 179 fig. 4-2, 181
Paolo et Francesca, 181n4
Roméo and Juliette, 195
Sapho, 210
government commissions, 60-61, 63, 65, 137
Grand Dictionnaire universel (Larousse), 1-2
Gratry, Père, 181n3
Grètry, André-Ernest-Modeste, 181n3
Guglielmo Tell (Rossini), 207, 209

H

hair
symbolism of, 73, 102, 127, 194
treatment of, 9, 31, 33, 41, 57, 138, 146, 153, 194
harmony, 183-184, 209

Hausmann, Georges Baron, 68
 head, position of, 9, 67, 89, 123, 127, 134, 141, 211
 Head of a Woman (etching)(Marcello), 156 fig. 3-47
 Head of a Woman (sculpture)(Marcello), 8 fig. 1-1, 9
 Hébé, 175n140
 Hébert, Ernest, 36, 48, 151, 211, 219
 Hecate, 137-138
 Hecate and Cerberus (Marcello), 3, 136 fig. 3-26, 137-143, 140 fig. 3-32, 142 figs. 3-33 and 34, 171
 Heinrich Max Imhof, 28 fig. 1-16
 Hélène (Clésinger), 40 fig. 1-23
 Herbert, J.R., 107
 heroes and heroism
 Ananké, 134
 La Belle Hélène, 43
 Marie Antoinette as, 121
 and music, 189
 mythological women as, 126-175
 spirituality of, 11
 in 19th century art, 96-101
 women as, 3, 10-11, 43, 96-101, 134, 171, 173
 Hero with a Thousand Faces (Campbell), 99
 Hippolyte, Félix, 41
 Hobbs, Angela, 99
 Holder, Ferdinand, 95
 Homeric Hymn to Apollo, 158
 Huebner, Steven, 197
 Huysmans, Joris-Karl, 101

I
 iconography of royalty, 23-24, 68, 127
 Idols of Perversity (Dijkstra), 95
 L'Illustrateur des dames (Cantaloube), 13
 Imhof, Heinrich Maximilian, 4, 28 fig. 1-16, 29, 29n35, 209, 209 fig. 4-18
 imperial commissions, 60-61, 63, 65
 Impressionists, 55
 Inferno (Dante), 199-200
 intellectualism, 138
 Iphigeneia, 137
 Iphigeneia in Tauris (Euripides), 158
 Italy, travels in, 48, 141, 147, 219-220

J
 Jacques, Narcisse, 133
 Janson, Horst Woldemar, 6
 Jeremiah, 139 fig. 3-29, 141
 Jonas (Marcello), 44
 Juan Prim (Regnault), 77n32, 78 figs. 2-19 and 20
 Jupiter and Semele (Moreau), 137

K
 Kandinsky, Wassily, 182
 Keffenbrinck, Baronness de, 49, 81, 82 fig. 2-25 and 26
 Kissling, Richard, 209, 210 fig. 4-19
 Kline, Auguste, 75

L
 Lagout, Édouard, 109-110, 112 fig. 3-12, 117
 Landerset, Joseph de, 23
 Landscape (Courbet), 7
 Larousse, Pierre, 1-2
 Lathers, Marie, 155
 Latini, Maria, 155, 158 fig. 3-48
 Lefèvre-Deumier, Marie-Louise, 36
 legends, 3, 95, 175
 see also heroes and heroism; mythology; women
 Légion d'honneur, 12
 Legrand, Pierre-Nicolas, 22 fig. 1-11
 Le Jeune, 62 fig. 2-7
 Lemonnier, Camille, 161
 Leroy, Louis, 41, 114
 Lindsay, Jack, 7
 Liszt, Franz, 179, 181, 185, 193, 213-214, 213 fig. 4-23
 Louis-Adolphe Thiers (Disdéri), 83 fig. 2-27
 Louis XVI, 21
 Lully, Jean Baptiste, 126, 179, 181n4, 188-189

M
 Madrazzo, Isabella de, 203-204
 Maignan, Albert Pierre, 89
 Mailbran, Maria, 210
 Maillardoz, Antoine Constantine de, 19, 25
 Maillardoz, Jean-Roch-Frédéric de, 21, 25, 119
 Maillardoz, Lucie de (Marcello's mother). see Affry, Lucie d'
 Maillardoz, Phillipe de, 25
 Maillardoz family, 19
 Mantz, Paul, 113, 131
 Marcello
 biographical information, 4-5, 17
 breasts, treatment of, 134n80
 career summary, 31-45, 48
 and Carpeaux, 36, 39, 85, 87-91, 88 fig. 2-32, 93, 95
 charitable works, 76, 220
 childlessness of, 15
 and Courbet, 6-7
 death of, 2, 49-52
 description of, 2
 education of, 27, 29
 family history, 17-27
 and Gounod, 151, 179, 197, 199, 211-213
 identity revealed, 110, 113, 114

marriage of, 30
 and mathematical aesthetics, 109-110
 memoirs, 9, 15, 25, 179n2, 183
 as model for Pythia, 155, 157
 and music, 10-11, 108-109, 179-186, 189, 215
 mythological subjects, 43, 126-175, 185
 and nature, 113
 obituaries, 50-51
 overlooked by art historians, 6, 217-218
 and painting, 3-4
 photographs, use of, 31, 71
 polysensoriality of, 10-11, 185, 215
 portraits of, 12, 12 fig. 1-3, 14 fig. 1-4, 34 fig. 1-21, 35, 219, 221 fig. C-1
 pseudonym, use of, 4-5, 45-48, 113, 179
 and Regnault, 7, 7n6, 36, 49, 76-79
 rejection of work, 68, 81
 and sculpted portraits, 9-10, 56-57, 93
 as society figure, 44
 widowhood of, 30
 see also exhibitions; femme fatale; heroes and heroism; Michelangelo; Paris Salon exhibitions; Symbolism; women
 Marcello - drawings
 for The Abyssinian Chieftain, 164 figs. 3-51 and 53
 for the Bust of General Milans del Bosch, 81 fig. 2-24
 for the Caryatid project, 150 fig. 3-42
 detail from Michelangelo's Last Judgment Altarpiece, 26 fig. 1-15
 Drawing after Michelangelo's Cleopatra, 130 fig. 3-23, 131
 Drawing after Michelangelo's Portrait of Lorenzo de' Medici, 137 fig. 3-28
 Drawing after Michelangelo's Sistine Chapel Ceiling, detail of the prophet Jeremiah, 139 fig. 3-30
 Drawing for La Bacchante Fatiguée, 148 fig. 3-37
 Drawing for Hecate and Cerberus, 142 fig. 3-34
 Drawing for the bust of Bianca Capello, 98 fig. 3-3
 Elisabeth, Empress of Austria, at her Coronation, 73 fig. 2-15
 of Mademoiselle Block as Sappho, 196 fig. 4-9
 Mater Amabilis, 57, 58 fig. 2-4
 Meeting of Faust and Marguerite, 196 fig. 4-8
 Portrait of Eduardo Rosalès-Martinez, 151 fig. 3-39
 Portrait of the Countess Castiglione, 112 fig. 3-13
 for Pythia, 160 fig. 3-49
 Marcello - etchings
 Head of a Woman, 153, 156 fig. 3-47
 Salomé, 153, 155, 159 fig. 3-47
 Marcello - paintings
 The Feischi Conspiracy, 81
 Salon Chinois, 4, 59 fig. 2-5, 60 fig. 2-6

Self-portrait, 219, 221 fig. C-1
 Marcello - sculptures
 The Abyssinian Chieftain, 3, 49, 150 fig. 3-41, 151, 162, 164 figs. 3-51 and 53, 166 fig. 3-52, 178 fig. 4-1a, 180 fig. 4-1b, 181, 220-221
 Ananké, 3, 132 fig. 3-25, 133-135, 137, 171
 Bacchante (a missing sculpture), 44
 La Bacchante Fatiguée, 143-149, 144 fig. 3-36, 148 fig. 3-37
 La Belle Hélène, 39, 40 fig. 1-22, 41, 43
 La Belle Romaine, 91, 149, 219-220
 Bérénice, 44
 Bianca Capello, 3, 3n3, 13, 48-49, 98 figs. 3-2 and 3, 102, 107-119, 108 fig. 3-9, 116 figs. 3-14 through 16, 134, 171, 181, 186
 Bust of General Milans del Bosch, 77-81, 80 fig. 2-23, 81 fig. 2-24
 Bust of the Duchess of San Cesario, 205
 Bust of the Empress Eugénie, 61-73, 62 fig. 2-8, 64 figs. 2-9 and 10, 66 figs. 2-11 and 12, 70 fig. 2-13, 119
 of Carolyne von Sayn-Wittgenstien, 213
 of Charles-François Gounod, 211-213
 copié d'après Raphael, 44
 Diana (or Diana Sleeping), 3, 42 fig. 1-24, 43-44, 43n67
 Diana (or Dina), 42 fig. 1-25, 44
 Ecce Homo (Marcello), 89, 91, 92 fig. 2-34
 Elisabeth, Empress of Austria, 73-76, 74 figs. 2-17 and 18
 Enfant courant, 44
 La Femme transtévérine, 171
 La Gorgone, 3, 124 fig. 3-19, 126-133, 130 fig. 3-24, 171, 181, 186-189
 Head of a Woman (Marcello), 8 fig. I-1, 9
 Hecate and Cerberus, 3, 136 fig. 3-26, 137-143, 140 fig. 3-32, 142 figs. 3-33 and 34, 171
 Jonas, 44
 Marguerite de Goethe, 171, 181, 189-199, 190 fig. 4-4
 Marie-Antoinette au Temple, (1793), 121-126, 122 fig. 3-18, 171
 Marie-Antoinette à Versailles, (1774), 119-126, 120 fig. 3-17, 171
 Medjé, 149, 178 fig. 4-1a, 180 fig. 4-1c, 181, 220
 Paolo et Francesca, 181, 198 fig. 4-10, 199-200, 203
 La Petite Madone, 94 fig. 3-1, 97
 Phoebe, 3, 91, 93 fig. 2-35, 149
 Portrait of Carlo Colonna, 31, 33, 34 fig. 1-20
 Portrait of Count Gaston de Nicolay, 48, 100 fig. 3-4
 Portrait of Franz Liszt, 181, 213-214, 213 fig. 4-23
 Portrait of Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux, 87-91, 88 fig. 2-32, 93
 Portrait of Louis-Adolph Thiers, 83-85, 84 figs. 2-28 and 29

Portrait of Madame Duchess of San Cesario, 48, 100 fig. 3-5, 102
 Portrait of Mille de Grétry, 181n3
 Portrait of Pauline Viardot, 44, 181, 209-211
 Portrait of the Baroness Keffenbrinck-Ascheraden, 49, 81, 82 figs. 2-25 and 26
 Portrait of the Countess d'Affry, 57, 58 fig. 2-3, 60
 Portrait of the Marquise de Tallenay, 7, 8 fig. 1-2
 Pythia, 3, 49, 149, 151-171, 152 fig. 3-40, 160 fig. 3-49, 168-169 figs. 3-54, 185, 216, 221, through 56
 La Rosina, 181, 201-203 figs. 4-11 through 14, 203-207
 Self-Portrait, 31, 32 fig. 1-19, 33
 Smiling Moorish Woman, 167, 167n135
 of William Tell, 181, 207-209
 Marcello, Benedatto, 5, 179
 Marcello: Sculpteur (Bessis), 5, 207
 Marcello Modeling Clay... (Carpeaux), 54
 Marguerite de Goethe (Marcello), 171, 181, 189-199, 190 fig. 4-4
 Marguerite (from Faust), 191, 192 fig. 4-6, 193-194
 Marianne (symbol of French Republic), 96
 Marie-Antoinette, 21, 121
 Marie-Antoinette au Temple, (1793) (Marcello), 121-126, 122 fig. 3-18, 171
 Marie-Antoinette à Versailles, (1774) (Marcello), 119-126, 120 fig. 3-17, 171
 Marlowe, Christopher, 191
 Mater Amabilis (Marcello), 57, 58 fig. 2-4
 mathematical aesthetics, 109-110, 112 fig. 3-12
 Matthews, Patricia, 148
 Medjé: Chanson Arabe (Gounod), 179 fig. 4-2, 181
 Medjé (Marcello), 149, 178 fig. 4-1a, 180 fig. 4-1c, 181, 220
 Medusa, 127-128
 Medusa (Carvaggio), 128 fig. 3-21
 „The Medusa of Harriet Hosmer“ (Gerdt), 128-129
 Meeting of Faust and Marguerite (Marcello), 196 fig. 4-8
 The Meeting of Faust and Marguerite (Tissot), 192 fig. 4-5
 melancholy, 138, 141, 143
 Ménard, René, 162
 MÉRIMÉ, Prosper, 67, 143, 147, 216
 Metamorphosis (Ovid), 175n140, 186
 Michelangelo
 influence of, 29, 33, 36, 219
 on La Bacchante Fatiguée, 147-148
 Bacchus, 147-148, 149 fig. 3-38
 on Hecate and Cerberus, 138, 141
 Il Pensieroso, 136 fig. 3-27, 138, 141
 Portrait of Lorenzo de' Medici, 136 fig. 3-27, 138, 141
 Portrait of Vittoria Colonna as Venus, 108-109, 108

fig. 3-10
 Sistine Chapel Ceiling, detail of the prophet Jeremiah, 139 fig. 3-29
 Venus or Zenobia or Portrait of Vittoria Colonna as Venus, 108-109, 108 fig. 3-10
 works of
 Cleopatra, 130 fig. 3-22, 131
 Mignet, François-August-Marie, 109
 Miolan-Carvalho, Marie, 192 fig. 4-6, 193 fig. 4-7, 194-195, 210
 Mitchell, Claudine, 123
 Molière, 45
 Monckhoven, D., 72 fig. 2-14
 Montaignon, Anatole de, 91
 Montenach, Clémence de, 151, 153, 153n109
 Monument to William Tell (Imhof), 209, 209 fig. 4-18
 Monument to William Tell (Kissling), 209, 210 fig. 4-19
 Monument to William Tell (Vela), 208 fig. 4-17, 209
 Moreau, Gustave, 101, 137, 185
 Morisot, Berthe, 35, 44, 48
 Morisot, Tiburce, 35
 multiple editions
 of Bianca Capello, 3n3, 115, 117
 of Bust of the Empress Eugénie, 63-65, 67
 of La Gorgone, 133
 of Pythia, 165, 167
 music and sculpture, 179-186, 189, 215
 see also specific works
 mysticism, 3, 95, 175
 mythology and women as heroes, 3, 43, 95, 126-175, 185
 see also heroes and heroism; legends

N

Nadar, 65, 66 fig. 2-12, 71, 116 fig. 3-16, 117, 187 fig. 4-3
 Napoleon I (Napoleon Bonaparte), 19, 21, 22n22, 23
 Napoleon III, 41, 61, 63
 and Hecate and Cerberus, 143
 nature and Marcello, 113
 Neo-Mannerism, 133n77
 Nerval, Gérard de, 191
 Nicolay, Gaston de, 48, 100 fig. 3-4
 Niépce, Nicéphore, 55
 Nieuwerkerke, comte de, 46-47, 143
 Nilsson, Christine, 197
 Nochlin, Linda, 11, 11n8, 55
 Noé, Amédée-Charles-Henri de. see Cham
 noncommissioned portraits, 56

O

occult, 185

Oldoini, Virginia, 111, 112 fig. 3-16
 „On the Medusa of Leonardo da Vinci in the Florentine Gallery“ (Shelley), 129
 operas, 108-109, 181, 191
 see also specific operas
 oracle of Delphi, 157-158, 158n119
 organic and inorganic forms, 159, 185
 originality in art, 115
 original sin, 99
 Ottenfels, Baroness d' (Marcello's sister Cécile), 26 fig. 1-14, 27, 48, 135, 137
 Ovid, 175n140, 186

P

painting and photography, 55-56
 Pajou, Augustin, 141, 141 fig. 3-31
 Paolo et Francesca (Gounod), 181n4
 Paolo et Francesca (Marcello), 181, 198 fig. 4-10, 199-200, 203
 Paris Opéra, 159, 165
 Paris Salon exhibitions, 5
 The Abyssinian Chieftain, 151, 163, 166 fig. 3-52
 La Bacchante Fatiguée, 143
 medals, 49, 81
 Pythia, 49, 151, 163, 166 fig. 3-52
 rejections by, 81
 Il Penseroso (Michelangelo), 136 fig. 3-27, 138, 141
 Persée (Lully), 181n4, 188-189
 Perseus, 127
 Perseus with the Head of Medusa (Canova), 127 fig. 3-20
 Pesquidoux, Dubosc de, 51
 Petit, Stephan, 143
 La Petite Madone (Marcello), 94 fig. 3-1, 97
 Phoebe (Marcello), 3, 91, 93 fig. 2-35, 149
 photography, 31, 55-56, 71, 117
 see also Nadar
 Pierre, Caterina Yvonne, 6
 Pietro de Médicis (Poniatowski), 107
 Plato and the Hero (Hobbs), 99
 Plutarch, 158
 Pluto, God of the Underworld (Pajou), 141, 141 fig. 3-31
 poisoning, 118
 polysensoriality, 10-11, 185, 215
 Poniatowski, Prince, 107
 Pontmartin, Armand de, 146, 161
 Portrait de Rossini (Marcello), 207
 Portrait of Adèle d'Affry (Dietler), 14 fig. 1-4
 Portrait of Bianca Capello (Allori), 105 fig. 3-6, 107
 Portrait of Carlo Colonna (Marcello), 31, 33, 34 fig. 1-20

Portrait of Carpeaux (Bernard), 89, 90 fig. 2-33
 Portrait of Cécile d'Affry (Dietler), 26 fig. 1-14
 Portrait of Charles d'Affry (Legrand), 22 fig. 1-11
 Portrait of Charles François Gounod (Carpeaux), 212 fig. 4-22
 Portrait of Count Gaston de Nicolay (Marcello), 48, 100 fig. 3-4
 Portrait of Don Carlo Colonna (Dietler), 28 fig. 1-17
 Portrait of Eduardo Rosalès-Martinez (Marcello), 151 fig. 3-39
 Portrait of François Pierre d'Affry (Bapst), 20 fig. 1-8
 Portrait of Franz Liszt (Marcello), 181, 213-214, 213 fig. 4-23
 Portrait of Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux (Marcello), 87-91, 88 fig. 2-32, 93
 Portrait of Lorenzo de' Medici (Michelangelo), 136 fig. 3-27, 138, 141
 Portrait of Louis-Adolph Thiers (Marcello), 83-85, 84 figs. 2-28 and 29
 Portrait of Louis-Auguste-Augustin d'Affry (Roslin), 20 fig. 1-9
 Portrait of Madame Duchess Catiglione Colonna (Riesener), 34 fig. 1-21, 35
 Portrait of Madame Duchess San Cesario (Marcello), 48, 100 fig. 3-5, 102
 Portrait of Mille de Grètry (Marcello), 181n3
 Portrait of Pauline Viardot (Marcello), 44, 181, 209-211
 Portrait of Pauline Viardot (Scheffer), 211 fig. 4-20
 Portrait of the Baroness Keffenbrinck-Ascheraden (Marcello), 81, 82 figs. 2-25 and 26
 Portrait of the Baroness Keffenbrinck-Ascheraden (Marcello), 49
 Portrait of the Countess Castiglione (Marcello), 112 fig. 3-13
 Portrait of the Countess d'Affry (Marcello), 57, 58 fig. 2-3, 60
 Portrait of the Countess Lucie d'Affry (Carpeaux), 57, 57 fig. 2-2
 Portrait of the Count (Louis d'Affry) (Dietler), 16 fig. 1-2
 Portrait of the Duchess Castiglione Colonna (Carpeaux), 86 figs. 2-30 and 31
 Portrait of the Marquise de Tallenay (Courbet or Marcello), 7, 8 fig. 1-2
 Portrait of Vittoria Colonna as Venus (Michelangelo), 108-109, 108 fig. 3-10
 portraits, 9-10, 55-56, 71, 93
 see also specific works
 Portraiture: Facing the Subject (Woodall), 56
 Postcard with Crest for the Village of Avry-sur-Matran (Robert), 16 fig. 1-4

Pourtalès, Mélanie de, 149
 praticiens, 44, 71, 133, 143
 Prim y Prats, Juan, 77
 Princess de Metternich, 46, 63
 prudence, 24, 25, 25n24
 pseudonyms, 9, 45-46
 see also under Marcello
 Pythia (Marcello), 3, 49, 149, 151-171, 152 fig. 3-40, 160 fig. 3-49, 168-169 figs. 3-54 through 56, 185, 216, 221
 Pythian sibyl, 157-158
 see also oracle of Delphi

R

Rabending, Emil, 72 fig. 2-14
 Randegger, Alberto, 109, 181n4
 redemption, 194
 Redon, Odilon, 101
 Regnault, Henri
 and Marcello, 7, 7n6, 36, 49, 76-79, 151, 153
 works of
 Juan Prim, 77n32, 78 figs. 2-19 and 20
 Salomé, 153, 156 fig. 3-45
 Study of an African Woman, 155
 religion and Symbolism, 3, 95, 175
 see also spirituality and spiritual transcendence
 Rencontre de Faust et de Marguerite (Tissot), 192 fig. 4-5, 193
 reproduction rights, 115
 Reutlinger, Charles, 195
 reviews of Marcello's works, 12
 The Abyssinian Chieftain, 162
 La Bacchante Fatiguée, 145-147
 Bianca Capello, 111, 113, 114
 Bust of the Empress Eugénie, 65, 67, 75
 and connection with Renaissance art, 141
 Ecce Homo, 91
 Exposition universelle exhibition, 173
 La Gorgone, 129, 131
 La Belle Romaine, 91
 lack of recognition of, 89, 91
 La Marguerite de Goethe, 194
 and nature in Marcello's works, 113
 Phoebe, 91
 Pythia, 161-163
 Revirard, Madame, 126, 187-189, 187 fig. 4- 3, 211
 Riesener, Léon, 35, 44
 Riesener, Rosalie, 34 fig. 1-21
 Rimini, Francesca and Paolo da, 199
 Robert, Charles, 16 fig. 1-4
 Robin, Balthasar, 129
 Rochefoucauld, François de la, 96

Rodin, Auguste, 138
 Rodocanachi, Isabelle, 149
 Romantic movement, 184-185, 213
 Roméo and Juliette (Gounod), 195
 A Room of One's Own (Woolf), 52
 Rops, Félicien, 101
 Rosales-Martínez, Eduardo, 148
 La Rosina (Marcello), 181, 201-203 figs. 4-11 through 14, 203-207
 Roslin, Alexandre, 20 fig. 1-9
 Rossini, Gioachino, 179, 181n4, 203, 206 fig. 4-15, 207, 209
 Les Rougon-Macquart (Zola), 101

S

Sainte-Aulaire, Louis de, 191
 Salomé (Marcello), 153, 155, 159 fig. 3-47
 Salomé (Regnault), 153, 156 fig. 3-45
 Salon Chinois (Marcello and Boccard), 4, 59 fig. 2-5, 60 fig. 2-6
 Sand, George, 46, 46n77, 210
 Sapho, 196 fig. 4-9
 Sapho (Gounod), 210
 Sayn-Wittgenstein, Carolyne von, 213
 Schaller, Henri de, 75
 Scheffer, Ary, 193, 211 fig. 4-20
 Schiller, Friedrich von, 185, 207, 209
 Schnetz, Victor, 219
 sculpture
 and music, 179-186, 189, 215 (see also specific works)
 and originality, 115, 115n48
 overlooked by art historians, 218
 Selene, 137
 Self-Portrait (painting)(Marcello), 219, 221 fig. C-1
 Self-Portrait (sculpture)(Marcello), 31, 32 fig. 1-19, 33
 sexuality, 3, 95, 133, 144-146, 162, 171, 175
 Shelley, Percy Bysshe, 129
 Sibylle (Bacchiacca), 109n30, 112 fig. 3-11
 Simonetti, Attilio, 36
 Simon Magus, 191
 Sismondi, Jean-Charles de, 109
 Sistine Chapel Ceiling, detail of the prophet Jeremiah (Michelangelo), 139 fig. 3-29
 Smiling Moorish Woman (Marcello), 167, 167n135
 Spain, travels in, 49, 76-77, 151
 spirituality and spiritual transcendence, 11, 138, 148
 Staël, Madame de, 12
 Stapfer, Albert, 191
 Steegmann, Mary G., 105
 Stewart, A.T., 220
 Study of an African Woman (Regnault), 155
 Sturm und Drang, 185

supernatural, 185
 Suscipj, Lorenzo, 212 fig. 4-21
 Swiss artists, 218
 Swiss Guard, 21, 23
 Swiss Sonderbund, 25, 25n26
 The Sybil. see Pythia
 Symbolism
 and androgyny, 3, 148, 175
 mythological subjects, 137
 Pythia, 159
 and religion, 3, 95, 175
 and spirituality, 11, 138, 148
 themes of, 3, 10-11, 95, 138, 175, 185, 218

T

Tallenay, Olga de, 7, 8 fig. 1-2, 149
 Tell, William, 181, 207-209
 Terrapon, Michel, 5
 Thémènes, M. de, 145, 161
 Thiébaud et Fils, 165
 Thiébaud et Frères, Fumière and Gavignot, 167
 Thiers, Adolphe, 7, 43, 44, 83-85, 84 fig. 2-28, 143
 Thinker (Rodin), 138
 Thoré-Bürger, William, 131
 Tissot, James-Jacques-Joseph, 192 fig. 4-5, 193
 Tournachon, Gaspard-Félix. see Nadar
 Tragical History of Doctor Faustus (Marlowe), 191
 tuberculosis, 5, 37, 49, 81
 Tune of the Gorgon (Lully), 126

U

Ubertini, Francesco d', 109n30, 112 fig. 3-11
 Ugolino and His Sons (Carpeaux), 200
 United States, 220-221
 Universal Exhibition in Vienna (1873), 49
 "Unjustly Neglected: Gustave Courbet in the 1870's"(Pierre), 6
 Untitled (Landscape) (Affry, Louis d'), 24 figs. 1-12 and 13

V

Vela, Vincenzo, 208 fig. 4-17, 209
 Venus or Zenobia or Portrait of Vittoria Colonna as Venus (Michelangelo), 108-109, 108 fig. 3-10
 Véron, Théodore, 89, 91
 Viardot, Louis, 210
 Viardot, Pauline, 44, 181, 187-188, 195, 195n36, 209-211
 Viniz, L., 37-38
 Virgil, 158
 Virgin Mary, 96-97
 Visitors profit from the vestibule of the

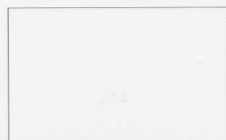
Opera...(Cham), 170 fig. 3-57
 Voltaire, 45

W

Wagner, Anne Middleton, 60-61
 Wagner, Richard, 185-186
 Weldon, Georgina, 199
 Wilde, Oscar, 55
 Wilhelm Tell (Schiller), 207, 209
 William Tell, 181, 207-209
 Winckelmann, Johann Joachim, 57
 Winterhalter, Franz Xavier, 71
 Wistinghausen, Monique von, 5
 Wolff, Albert, 163
 Woman Bitten By a Snake (Clésinger), 147
 women
 and the École des beaux-arts, 37-39
 gender-biased obstacles, 12, 45-47, 61, 218
 as heroic figures, 3, 10-11, 43, 96-102, 134, 171, 173
 portrayal of powerful
 Bianca Capello, 118
 Elisabeth, Empress of Austria, 75-76
 Empress Eugénie, 72
 La Gorgone, 129
 Marie Antoinette, 121
 Marie Miolan-Carvalho, 210-211
 and operas, 191
 Pauline Viardot, 210-211
 Rosina, 204
 and Symbolism, 95, 175
 Woodall, Joanna, 56
 Woolf, Virginia, 52
 Worth, Charles-Frederick, 165

Z

Zenobia or Venus or Portrait of Vittoria Colonna as Venus (Michelangelo), 108-109, 108 fig. 3-10
 Zingara Marie, 153, 155
 Zola, Émile, 101





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"Genius Has No Sex" The Sculpture of Marcello (1836-1879) traces the life and sculptural production of Adèle d'Affry, the Duchess Castiglione Colonna, best known under the pseudonym Marcello. Although she was born in Switzerland and kept a studio in Fribourg, she spent many years sculpting in France, Italy and Spain, and her works were frequently shown in exhibitions throughout Western Europe. This book presents the history of an artist of great renown and consequence during the second half of the nineteenth century, and it is the first full-scale, academic study of her work in English.

The Museum of the Swiss Abroad focuses on the personalities and destinies of Swiss-born people who leave their homeland and gain fame and honor in their chosen countries. Adèle d'Affry is one of the most fascinating Swiss-born artists among those who made their name elsewhere. She was an aristocrat and a woman, but most importantly she was a sculptor trying to succeed in a world where men dominated cultural production in the nineteenth century.

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